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# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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29 November 1985

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INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

NIGERIA REPORTS BEGINNING OF ECOBANK--The headquarters of a new international financial institute for the West African subregion, known as Ecobank, has started operations in Lome, the Togolese capital. The bank was established by the Federation of West African Chambers of Commerce with the aim of promoting intra-African trade and industry. An agreement formally establishing the bank's headquarters was signed between the Togolese Government and Ecobank Transnational Incorporated last month. The bank's authorized capital is \$100 million, and Nigeria has been allocated 30 percent of the amount in recognition of her economic strength and leading position in ECOWAS. A spokesman for the Chambers told a Voice of Nigeria correspondent in Lagos on Friday that the idea of creating the bank was mooted about 3 years ago to lend support to the objectives of ECOWAS. He said the summit meeting of heads of state and governments of ECOWAS last November adopted a resolution approving the Ecobank project and authorizing the ECOWAS Fund to participate in its capital. Meanwhile, there are plans to establish subsidiaries of Ecobank in Nigeria and the Ivory Coast before the end of next year. [Text] [Lagos International Service in English 0830 GMT 3 Nov 85]

/12640  
CSO: 3400/352

GHANA

## FOREIGN CURRENCY BANK ACCOUNTS

Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 22 Oct 85 pp 1, 3

[Article by Emelia Dowuona-Owoo]

[Text]

THREE hundred and sixty-six people, made up of Ghanaians and foreigners, have opened foreign accounts with six of the seven authorized banks in Ghana in response to an official policy which allows Ghanaian residents and non-residents as well as non-Ghanaians to open foreign accounts in the country.

The Bank of Credit and Commerce has the largest number of such customers with 180 accounts; Ghana Commercial Bank, 130 accounts; National Investment Bank, 39; Merchant Bank, eight; Standard Bank, seven, and the Social Security Bank, four.

These were disclosed in separate interviews with officials of the banks in a survey by the "Times".

An official of the Ghana Commercial Bank said a number of enquiries had been received from other non-resident Ghanaians on the modalities for operating the foreign accounts.

According to the spokesman, the officials of the bank have introduced measures to avoid the situation in which people go to change their moneys on the black market and later open accounts with them.

"The bank has insulated itself in such a way that it will not be easy to circumvent the system" he said.

As part of these measures the bank "gives only travellers cheques, and not cash, to its customers".

Also the bank accepts cash from its customers only when it is backed by Bank of Ghana Exchange Control Form T5 to serve as evidence that the money entered the country legally.

The policy contained in the 1985 Budget came into effect last June.

Ghanaian banks with which the foreign accounts may be opened are: Ghana Commercial Bank, Barclays Bank, Standard Chartered Bank, National Investment Bank, Social Security Bank, Bank of Credit and Commerce, and the Merchant Bank.

/9317

CSO: 3400/371

GHANA

UK BANKS CONTINUE SILO CONSTRUCTION FINANCING

Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 25 Oct 85 p 8

[Text]

THE Standard Chartered Group in London has pledged its continued participation in the construction of silos and the training of agricultural extension officers in Ghana.

The Senior Deputy Chairman of the Group, Mr P. A. Graham, made the pledge when he arrived in Accra to begin a week-long visit to the country.

According to a GBC news bulletin, Mr Graham said the rapid economic growth achieved under the PNDC's Economic Recovery Programme should encourage other financial institutions to increase their support to the Government.

He observed that the whole world, and the banking institutions in parti-

cular, were watching with keen interest the progress Ghana was making in raising the standard of living of her people.

During his stay, Mr Graham would hold talks with government officials, including, Mr P. V. Obeng, member of the PNDC and chairman of the Committee of Secretaries, Dr Kwesi Botchway, Secretary for Finance and Economic Planning, and Dr Mohammed Alfassan, Deputy Governor of the Bank of Ghana.

The discussions would centre on how best the bank could increase its involvement in the economy and development projects in the country.

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CSO: 3400/371

GHANA

DESTRUCTION FROM TRIBAL CLASHES DETAILED

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 22 Oct 85 p 4/5

[Article by Iddrisu Seini]

[Text]

IT is now officially known that 197 houses were burnt down during the recent clashes between the Mamprusis and Kusasis at Bawku.

This has therefore rendered a large number of people homeless. The death toll also stands officially at 16 while 167 persons have been arrested in connection with the case.

According to Mr Sumaiya Adekuru, Chief Superintendent of Police, the Police are presently looking for 16 ring leaders of both factions.

The 16 persons have accordingly been asked to either report themselves to the Bawku Police or the Criminal Investigation

Department (CID) of the Regional Police Headquarters at Bolgatanga.

They are George Sulemana, Adam Seidu, both believed to be hiding at Garu near Bawku and Bito in Burkina Faso, respectively, Lawyer Joe Abanga, Mr Seidu Amadu and Iddrisu Yanga all Kusasis.

The rest are Albert Apusiga, Paul Ababiga, Shaibu Amadu and Eric Atia also Kusasis.

The Mamprusi ringleaders are Awudu alias "Landlord", Malik Imoro Salifu, Mohammed Sumane and Osumani Sumbeda.

The rest are Dahamani alias Hope, Ibrahim Sumbeda and Bashiru who is wanted as a witness.

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CSO: 3400/371

GHANA

ARMED FORCES DEMONSTRATE FIREPOWER

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 19 Oct 85 p 1

[Article by George Amosah]

[Text]

THE Ghana Armed Forces in an hour-long military exercise staged yesterday for students of the Ghana Armed Forces Staff College and the Military Academy and Training School, demonstrated the various levels of firepower to be called into action by combat teams against advancing enemy forces.

At the Bundase Military Shooting Range on the Accra Plains where the exercise took place, the capabilities of the various guns of war, from long and medium-range mortars, amphibious armoured reconnaissance vehicles (MOWAGS), to anti-tank guns and rifles, were demonstrated.

The exercise offered the military students practical demonstration to support theoretical lessons on the performance of the various weaponry on the battlefield.

In a brief address later, Colonel David Klutse, Commander of the First Infantry Brigade of the Ghana Armed Forces, told the participating troops and students, that bearing in mind what they had seen it could well be imagined the volume of fire power that a combat team could unleash on an advancing enemy.

/9317  
CSO: 3400/373

GHANA

KLUTSE IMPRESSED BY STANDARDS IN ARMED FORCES

Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 19 Oct 85 p 1

[Article by Douglas Akwasi Owusu]

[Text]

THE Commanding Officer of the First Infantry Brigade Colonel D. L. K. Klutse, has commended the Ghana Armed Forces for their marked efficiency and high professional standards.

And he stated, given the necessary equipment and stability, the officers and men could achieve even better in the field. Col. Klutse was giving his closing remarks here after a week-long exercise organized at company level by the First Infantry Brigade to introduce students of the Ghana Military Academy and Training School (MATS) and the Armed Forces Staff College to the use of 'fire-power' as a means of defence.

He said the Ghana Armed Forces could be compared to "any of the best anywhere".

The Commanding Officer advised the students to do more research in their studies and to suggest weapons which could be added to Ghana's armoury to make the battlefield more comfortable.

During the exercise, the students were exposed to 'fire-power' and static demonstration of weapons used for defence purposes.

These ranged from high explosives in long range aircraft defence systems to the use of mortars, armoured vehicles, machine guns, rifles, grenades and pistols.

/9317  
CSO: 3400/372

GHANA

## KLUTSE PRAISES MILITARY'S CONTRIBUTIONS

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 24 Oct 85 p 8

[Article by Fufi Mensah]

[Text]

**COLONEL D. L. K.**  
**Klutse, Commander of**  
**the First Infantry Bri-**  
**gade has praised the**  
**contributions of the mi-**  
**litary to the current re-**  
**habilitation of the We-**  
**stern Rail line.**

Speaking at the annual administrative inspection parade of the Second Battalion of Infantry at the Myohaung Barracks yesterday, Col. Klutse also commended the role of the Second Battalion of Infantry in safeguarding the nation's resources during the anti-cocoa smuggling operation code named "Operation Hunter" last year.

These achievements, he stated were the products of a highly disciplined body which was necessary for the success of the revolution.

"Discipline must feature in all other aspects of our

relationship with other members of the community", he emphasised.

On the restructuring exercise in the Armed Forces, Col. Klutse said it was aimed at making the Armed Forces more viable and responsive to the defence needs of the country as well as to make judicious use of the existing resources.

He expressed concern about the continued activities of dissidents and activities of ambitious individuals in the business sector as well as others in the mass media who gear their reports towards inciting troops by publishing half truths and falsehood.

The Ghana Armed Forces, he noted, would accept constructive criticism in its efforts to ensure peace and stability in the country for the success of the on-going process.

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CSO: 3400/372

NIGERIA

INTERNAL MINISTER SHAGAYA SAYS BORDERS WILL REMAIN CLOSED

Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 24 Oct 85 pp 1, 12

[Text] Nigerian borders will remain closed until certain conditions which led to their closure are met, the Minister of Internal Affairs Lt. Col. John Shagaya said in Nigerian on Tuesday.

He was silent on the conditions but said that the Buhari administration must have taken the decision in the interest of the nation.

Colonel Shagaya, however, reiterated that the present administration has no intention to keep the borders closed permanently.

He said that by 1996, all Nigerian major border posts would be fully equipped.

The minister said the Babangida regime will deal sternly with any firm found violating the country's expatriate quota.

He said that his ministry had set up a machinery "working" underground to check the abuses of groups and organisations in respect of expatriate quota."

Col. Shagaya said that so far, two firms had been found violating the quota.

One of the firms, he said, used some Nigerians as fronts to apply for expatriate quotas but on arrival, the experts were sent to another company.

Colonel Shagaya assured that as soon as he returned to Lagos he would take a decision on the two firms.

On the Yahaya Gusau study group's white paper on customs and immigration, the minister said there was slight delay in the implementation but added that there would be action within the next two months.

Colonel Shagaya said in the past, passports were issued to people indiscriminately not minding the fact that "passports are documents of security nature."

He said to check this abuse, the government decided that anybody wishing to obtain passport should go to his local government.

Col. Shagaya said the process has reduced the period it takes to obtain a passport adding "in the past, you could spend as much as six months to obtain one whereas you can spend more than three weeks nowadays.

NIGERIA

MEASURES TO REDUCE UNEMPLOYMENT ANNOUNCED

Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 25 Oct 85 p 13

[Text] ISSUANCE of import licences to bona fide users, employment counselling and increase in vocational training are some of the measures which the Federal Government will pursue to reduce unemployment in the country.

Minister of Employment, Labour and Productivity, Rear Admiral Patrick Koshoni, disclosed this at his first meeting with representatives of the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) on Wednesday.

Rear Admiral Koshoni also told the four-man delegation, led by NLC President Ali Ciroma that, his ministry would also encourage public works by direct labour and organised the labour market so that job seekers and their prospective employers can be linked with minimum delay.

The minister had earlier attributed high unemployment rate to non-functional educational system, unrestrained population growth, imperfect labour market and shortage of raw materials in industries amongst others.

Real Admiral Koshoni, however, expressed

concern on high rates of intra-union disputes in the courts. He said that industrial unions should invest check-off from workers salaries rather than spend it on litigation.

On probity and accountability, the minister said that some industrial unions have been collecting check-off dues from workers but have not submitted audited accounts to the Registrar of Trade Unions.

He however, praised industrial unions that have wisely invested their check-off funds in viable projects.

Rear Admiral Koshoni said that his invitation to the NLC was in line with this administration's policy of open government. "Industrial peace is vital to the nation's economy", he added.

He assured the labour leaders that expatriate quota restrictions will be vigorously enforced. He therefore called on the NLC to put forward suggestions on ways of achieving further reduction of expatriate personnel in the country.

Replying, NLC President Ali Ciroma called on the Federal Government to see the labour movement as genuine partner in the struggle for the nation's economic survival.

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CSO: 3400/386

NIGERIA

AGE LIMIT FOR NATIONAL ID CARDS LOWERED

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 22 Oct 85 p 1

[Article by Lekan Odunjo]

[Text]

**Nigerians from the age of 10 years and above would be given the National Identity Cards, Minister of Internal Affairs, Lt.-Col. John Shagaya, has said.**

The minister said during a courtesy visit to the Governor of Kwara State, Wing Commander Mohammed Umaru, yesterday that with the reduction in the age limit of those eligible to hold the identity cards, it was imperative for state governments to mount a vigorous campaign to make the issue a success.

He said that such laudable programmes might not succeed without serious education and propaganda because many people might misconstrue it as a way of bringing more people into the tax net.

The minister now on a four-day visit to Kwara State requested the state government to embark on programmes

that would facilitate the provision of rural areas with necessary amenities like water, light and good roads so as to give Nigerians living at border towns a sense of belonging.

He pointed out that a situation whereby Nigerians living at border towns enjoyed these

facilities through the hospitality of neighbouring countries was fraught with danger.

The minister also urged Governor Umaru to assist contractors handling Federal Government projects especially Ilorin Prisons to get building materials at government shops.

He explained that this would help in reducing costs of such projects.

Replying, the governor assured the minister that the present government in Kwara State was committed to the development of rural areas.

He also told his visitor that he would look into the possibility of assisting contractors handling government projects to buy materials through government agencies.

Earlier, Lt.-Col. Shagaya while inspecting the Ilorin Prisons had frowned at the overdramatisation of the problems confronting the country's jail houses by prison officials.

/13104

CSO: 3400/384

NIGERIA

BABANGIDA DESCRIBES ASSEMBLY PLANTS AS DRAIN ON FOREIGN CURRENCY

Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 28 Oct 85 pp 1, 12

[Text]

**G**OVERNMENT policy and action on the establishment of assembly plants will be reviewed, President Ibrahim Babangida said in Kuru at the week-end.

He expressed dissatisfaction with the duplication, waste and heavy burden on our foreign reserves caused by proliferation of assembly plants in the country.

Major-General Babangida said that the provision of alternative employment and the re-direction of resources which will arise from the review will receive priority attention.

The president made these observations in his address to 40 graduands of the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS), at Kuru, near Jos.

He said: We shall listen with sympathy to any proposals to manufacture the parts instead of continued importation and assembly.

To this end, he said, we should take steps to cut

the red tape and end the period of delay to avoid the death of any scheme before it was realised.

Also, he said, the Federal Government should give the strongest support and encouragement through incentives to attract and promote local and foreign investment in industry and agriculture.

Strongest emphasis would also be laid upon those proposals which would ensure the creation of jobs and employment on a large scale in the shortest possible time and added that no effort would be spared to protect our economic independence.

President Babangida assured that he would amplify these economic issues and other economic sacrifices which would help to save Nigeria in his 1986 budget speech.

He also promised to redress the imbalance in development between rural and urban areas of the country and ensure a better standard of living for the

majority of our citizens in rural areas.

General Babangida reminded Nigerians that a change in leadership of the country did not mean an era of return to social irresponsibility.

He made it clear that the Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC) would apply with unremitting determination and zeal the full force of its own authority to impose national responsibility and discipline.

This, he said, would be done through the due process of the law and remarked that jungle justice was not part of the better society.

The President said that many people have lost confidence in some of our public institutions and assured the nation that the AFRC would soon hold closed-door meeting with leaders of public institutions.

The president later addressed a combined parade of armed forces and the police at Rukuba Army Cantonment before he left for Lagos.

/13104  
CSO: 3400/386

NIGERIA

MINISTER MUSA CALLS FOR INDUSTRIAL POLICY REVIEW

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 24 Oct 85 pp 1, 3

[Text] Minister of Industries, Alhaji Bunu Sheriff Musa, had said Nigeria's industrial policy needed to be reviewed in the light of happenings in the automobile industry.

Alhaji Bunu said he would call a meeting of state Commissioners for Trade and Industries for October 28 to examine modalities for re-structuring our industrial policy.

He told newsmen in Lagos after an unscheduled visit to Volkswagen of Nigeria Limited (VON), that not much of the vehicles assembled here were sold here, "they are exported with little or no licence."

He said the Federal Government was going to take a decision on whether to continue with vehicle assembly or to rely on importation.

He said there was the need for a review of the nation's technical agreements with foreign companies.

Alhaji Bunu has ordered (VON) on Tuesday to rescind its price increases on three vehicles manufactured by the company within 24 hours.

The minister said the unilateral price increases had made nonsense of the presence of government in this country.

He said the increases must not be allowed to go unnoticed, particularly when President Ibrahim Babangida had announced a 15-month economic emergency and the burden of such increases would be felt by the common man.

Alhaji Bunu said the company should have waited for government's decision on its request for price increases, adding "you need to convince government before you can revise prices".

"I am giving you 24 hours within which to make public your decision to comply with government's decision on the matter," the minister told the Managing Director of the company Mr. Laus Von Bothmer.

The minister told newsmen after the visit that VON would comply with the government's order, adding if they fail, government might be forced to take a more drastic measure in the interest of the people of the country.

"If need be, we will have to close it down because the government should follow the appropriate channel of communications especially in this case where the government has 60 per cent share in the company.

Alhaji Bunu said that it was unfair of the company to apply the effect of the global economic recession by using this year as a base year irrespective of the company's past profits in Nigeria since its inception in 1975.

The Managing Director of VON had briefed the minister and his entourage on some of the problems facing the company, its contribution to the national economy and its production capacity.

Mr. Von Bothmer said the company's problems included those of insufficient licence in relation to local demand, little confirming lines for letter of credit, power failure, and gradual adjustments in the value of the Naira.

Commenting on the government's order, Mr. Bothmer said the company had no choice but to comply, adding "24 hours is 24 hours, we will look into the matter and at the end of the day, a fair judgment would be reached."

Last week, VON announced new prices for three of its brands. The new prices pushed up the cost of a beetle from 6,595 Naira to 7,355 Naira, and that of Santana from 15,645 to 16,645 Naira while the Kombi bus was hiked from 11,649 to 12,455 Naira.

/13104  
CSO: 3400/385

NIGERIA

LABOR REQUESTS REMOVAL OF FORMER ADMINISTRATION APPOINTEES

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 22 Oct 85 p 9

[Article by Abu Tapidi]

[Text] THE Gongola State Government has been urged to remove all people who were appointed into various offices during the defunct civilian administration as well as retired civil servants still in the employment of the state government.

The state branch of the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) claimed that, since the civil service, was the bed-rock of any administration, it was expected to be properly organised, co-ordinated and free from political, ethnic and religious sentiments.

A statement signed by Isa Umar and Ibrahim Zakari stated that, despite persistent reports on the situation to former administration, nothing was being done.

According to them, the civil service could not be said to be free from external influences based on sentiments in the state and nothing short of drastic action would save the situation.

The NLC officials also requested for the reabsorption of all people believed to have been wrongly retrenched in addition to halting further retrenchment in the state.

They requested the govern-

ment to provide vehicle loans, housing loans and other forms of incentives to the workers as to motivate them for enhanced productivity.

They also urged the government to lift the embargo on employment because of the increasing rate of unemployment especially, graduates and others from higher institutions in the country.

On the various taxations and levies, they called for a halt in the compulsory deductions, adding that, certificates of recovery should be issued in respect of the deduction already made by the government.

According to them, it would be easy for the government to refuse the IMF loan than to control or manage the social upheaval and chaos that would come along with the loan.

They pledged their loyalty and support to the government so as to improve the economy as well as the wellbeing of the populace.

The officials said, "the council is optimistic that, this administration will uphold its open door policy and that the NLC will be consulted on all issues affecting workers in the state."

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CSO: 3400/381

NIGERIA

INCREASE IN NATIONAL PETROLEUM CONSUMPTION REPORTED

Kano SUNDAY TRIUMPH in English 20 Oct 85 p 1

[Article by Leke Salau]

[Text] Amidst the debate on the merits and demerits of the governments withdrawal of petroleum subsidy, statistics just released show that consumption of all petroleum products has shown general increase in May over the April level.

According to current issue of the monthly "Nigerian Petroleum News," consumption of fuel oil rose from 65.176 million litres to 90.762 million litres during the period while liquified petroleum gas LPG increased by 10 per cent from 4,038 tonnes to 4,441 tonnes.

Reports also stated that consumption of lubricating oil rose by 8.3 percent from 13.138 million litres in April to 14.224 million litres, while kerosene recorded a 6.4 per cent rise from 148.684 million litres to 158.149 million litres.

Bitumen/asphalt and automative gas oil (AGO) also recorded 3.8 per cent and 0.7 per cent increase in conjuction from 9,294 tonnes and from 188.694 million litres to 190.044 million litres, respectively.

However, premium motor spirits (PMS) recorded a decline of 0.3 per cent from 438,984 million litres to 43.565 million litres during the period.

The Petroleum News further reports that in May, all the products except (AGO) and LPG showed increases over the levels in the same month last year.

Consumption of AGO dropped by 3 per cent and LPG decline by 31.4 per cent during the one year period.

The news also reports that Nigeria exported 53.174 million litres of oil including about 3.5 million litres to neighbouring countries in May.

Export on kerosene also rose form 3.744 million litres to 4.358 million litres in May but PMS dropped from 428,000 litres to 33,000 litres and AGO from 5.095 million litres to 155,000 litres.

The report stated that the aviation turbine kerosene accounted for about 4 million litres on kerosene exported in May.

NIGERIA

## GOVERNMENT OIL SUBSIDY FIGURES

Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 26 Oct 85 p 7

[Text]

THE Federal Government spends about ₦800 million yearly as subsidy on 180,000 barrels of oil consumed daily.

The revelation was made during an IMF debate organised by Mercantile Bank in Calabar, Cross River State.

The proponents argued that the subsidy on petroleum has made Nigerian petroleum products cheap thus encouraging massive smuggling and bunkering of Nigeria's petroleum products.

They dismissed the excuse of poor performance of past IMF loan beneficiaries as irrelevant contending that the implementation strategy and timing of the loan in Nigeria might not necessarily be the same elsewhere.

However, the opponents of the loan argued that while the nation could adopt some of the conditionalities, we should reject the loan.

They gave some alternatives to the loan.

These include, rescheduling of Nigeria foreign debts in such a way that no more than 20 per cent of Nigeria's yearly foreign exchange

earnings would be used for debt servicing.

Federal Government should encourage Nigerians resident abroad to buy and transport to Nigeria, capital equipment which are vital to the economy.

Federal Government should sell bonds at the international capital market and the proceeds used to finance the execution of capital projects.

Marketing boards should be reorganized through rationalisation of price system and the adoption of multiple exchange rates.

The Federal Government should intensify action on counter trade with adequate controls for the purpose of financing core capital projects such as petro-chemical industry and liquefied natural gas.

The communique issued after the debate, however, said that argument favoured Nigeria accepting the loan conditionalities without taking the loan.

According to the communique, the conditionalities would serve as the basis for a programme of national economic survival.

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NIGERIA

## STATUS OF COMPUTER TECHNOLOGY, INDIGENOUS CORPORATIONS

Lagos BUSINESS TIMES in English 21 Oct 85 p 14

[Article by Onyedinachi Paul Ironkwe]

[Text]

**F**ORMERLY, there were only three major computer companies in Nigeria: IBM, NCR and ICL. All were foreign owned and managed, with very few Nigerian 'raw materials' at the real top.

Then came the indigenisation decree of the early seventies that cracked them like boiled eggs dropped from a height. Things fell apart and the centre no longer could hold.

By the late seventies, non-compliance by some of the companies and other developments in the computer market led to the birth of the first generation of Nigerian computer entrepreneurs.

Many capable Nigerians ventured out of the comfortable shells of the big three (IBM-NCR-ICL) to start their own computer companies: Men like Godwin Anekwe, Olu Oduko, Steve Famodimu, Tunji Odegbami, Don Etiobet, to name but a few.

Some even came from the classroom like Dr. Odeyemi. Thus was born companies like Komplek,

DPMS, Data Science, JKK and Debis.

Just as the invention of the microprocessor led to the development of the microcomputer market, the indigenisation decree of 1972 was the catalyst of the Nigerian computer market.

Today there are close to one hundred computer companies in Nigeria offering products and services of various kinds. It is worth noting that these Nigerian computer entrepreneurs have created more jobs than those by the original "big three".

A study of the Nigerian computer market indicates that 90 per cent of these Nigerian owned companies sprouted up between 1978 and 1983. Now, the growth rate has stabilised, levelled and even appear to be declining.

The end of the age of first generation computer entrepreneurs appear to have come. These first generation computer companies provided necessary services (mostly training and consultancy), imported and installed com-

puters and provided limited maintenance.

They satisfied the market needs and demands of the economy, at that time. The weakness of these first generation computer entrepreneurs is that they are completely import oriented in mentality.

The computers are imported fully assembled, so are the work benches and even the computer covers'. The books are imported, the files and video for training are also imported. The only thing that appears not to be imported are the end-users.

To really grow faster and contribute even more to the economy, the computer market in Nigeria must see the emergence of a second generation of entrepreneurs.

These are computer entrepreneurs who can add-value to the imported systems, modify and improve on them. These second generation computer entrepreneurs must be export conscious.

Their motto will be "import-improve and, export" similar to the

## MEMORABLE BYTES

... the provision of an adequate guideline on computer procurement and computer application is an essential and vital input to our national economic growth. Indeed the Nigerian economy took off from a simple agricultural base with some attempts to mechanise and industrialise. At this point in time there seems to be a downward trend yet an increasing amount of computer power is required to assist various sectors of industry to become truly viable . . . the time has come for the government to evolve an economic model which will gradually move Nigeria away from perpetual buying to local manufacture of computers. However, this kind of miracle will never happen without the government first deliberately investing in research and development programmes of higher institutions and other appropriate bodies aimed at achieving such objectives . . .

Excerpt from a keynote address to the conference of the Computer Association of Nigeria (CAN) held at the Metropolitan Hotel, Calabar on 11th to 12th May 1984. It was delivered by Professor S. B. Jaiyesimi, President of CAN).

computer principle "input-process and output." These second generation entrepreneurs will import chips and components, design useful systems and peripherals and export to foreign markets.

They will also where necessary import parts instead of finished products, locally trained electronics technicians assemble them and market them in Nigeria at less cost than an assembled imported system would cost.

The mentality of the 2nd generation entrepreneurs will be saturated with these concepts: Imitate, Innovate, Produce and Export.

Importation of raw materials such as chips & circuit elements is then seen as a step towards innovation, production and final exportation. In computer training and education,

the second generation computer entrepreneur will produce computer assisted instructional software — courseware, video-cassette lessons and tapes on computers with Nigerians and even in Nigerian languages.

The second generation computer entrepreneurs will activate the software market in Nigeria, producing what a friend of mine calls "indigenous software" in Nigerian games, tax and accounting formulas, medical, legal and government packages.

The second generation computer entrepreneurs will translate basic, cobol, fortran and lisp into WAZOBIA — or Yoruba, Hausa, Igbo, etc. and bring computing to the people.

Studies by the writer indicate that a nucleus of ten such companies appropriately focused in certain high-demand

products, could be generating close to ₦10 million in foreign exchange within three years and well over ₦50 million within 5 years.

First signs of the emergence of this new generation of computer entrepreneurs are already visible in places like Anambra State University of Technology (ASUTECH) and the University of Ife (Unife). At both universities, one can see that the mentality for the second generation computer entrepreneur has taken root.

At Asutech and Unife, efforts are being made to design, assemble and manufacture computer hardware and application products. The recent conference at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, on "Nigeria and the microprocessor" indicates an awakening too.

However, the Nsukka microprocessor conference must go beyond paper pre-

sentations to products production. We have had enough learned papers in the past. If the universities must present papers, which by their set-up they are obliged to, let their papers be more conscious of the problems of the Nigerian computer market — like how to solve the high unemployment of young computer scientists in a country not even producing enough!

Let the computer science, physics and electrical engineering professors and lecturers present ideas and implementation procedures that will contribute to Nigeria becoming an exporter of computers and peripherals and hence

increase the demand for their students.

The task of advancing the country into second generation computing does not rest with the universities alone. To move into second generation computing, the first generation computer companies must establish research and development divisions with the goal of producing for exports.

Part of their foreign exchange allocations must be funnelled to this end. The universities, working jointly with these established companies, should have their final year students' thesis projects geared towards such research and development projects.

Thus the students on graduation will have meaningful exciting jobs to continue and develop their creative ideas for the good of the economy.

The Babangida administration should do to the Nigeria computer market what the indigenisation decree of 1972 did to the first generation of computer entrepreneurs.

The Nigerian banks and finance houses must not just astound us with their expertise in producing profits in austere times: They should invest in the growth of second generation entrepreneurs and the creation of more jobs. The how of this we will discuss in the next article.

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NIGERIA

## MULTINATIONAL SETS PACE IN MERGER DEALS

Lagos BUSINESS TIMES in English 21 Oct 85 p 1

[Article by Arize Nwobu]

[Text] John Holt Nigeria Limited, a multinational that has been in business for the past 73 years in Nigeria is setting a pace in merger and takeover deals, a novel phenomenon in the Nigerian corporate world.

A careful observation has revealed that of the nine merger deals (consummated or attempted), so far noted by Business Times, of which six were handled by the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) John Holt is associated with four.

Those handled by the SEC include the Leventis Stores and A.G. Leventis merger, Lever Brothers/Lipton, John Holt Nigeria Limited/Bauchi Bottling Company Limited.

Others are Leventis Technical/Nigerian Bottling Company Limited, United Nigerian Insurance Company Limited/UNLIC and SCOA/Nigeria Automobile Industries Company Limited (NAICL).

While the first three were successful the last three resulted in a fiasco.

John Holt Nigeria Limited apart from engulfing Bauchi Bottling Company, also a few months ago, acquired Ogbemudia Farms in a deal valued at above N5 million according to sources.

The same John Holt it was also learnt, competed with UACN, SCOAS and other multinationals in a bid to acquire Continental Pharmaceuticals Limited (CPI) during the latter's trouble times, SCOA later clinched the deal which has since been branded a "management contract". The deal entails SCOA managing CPI's affairs and buying 40 per cent of its shares in addition to marketing all its products.

Still on John Holt, reliable sources have associated the company to a move to take over an Ilorina-based soft drinks manufacturing company Abiola Soft Drinks Limited (not M.K.O.'s).

Abiola Soft Drinks it was learnt, was in need of N500,000 to procure concentrates for its production in addition to being unable to repay a certain sum of N2 million loan said to be obtained from the First City Merchant Bank (FCMB), Lagos.

However, the merger moves according to our source have been dislocated as the receiver - Misola consultants on Allen Avenue, Lagos was said to have been advised to opt for a "reorganisation" of the sick Abiola soft drinks instead of consummating the intended merger.

In view of the frequency with which John Holt surfaces in merger deals, some questions come into mind:

One, is it the giant multinational that is often sniffing around for ailing companies to absorb or merge with, or is it the ailing companies that often run to John Holt for rescue or total absorption as the case may be?

If the former is the case, what is the motive behind its sniffing about? Experts hold it that if the latter were the case that it tells a lot about the degree of John Holt's financial buoyancy and may be fine management expertise which attracted such moribund companies.

Mergers and acquisitions experts believe, is good especially in times of economic squeeze considering among other benefits, its energy effect (4+4=9).

They however also believe that mergers and acquisitions if not properly checked, could slowly grow wild resulting to monopolies and oligopolies to the detriment of budding companies in related products.

In our economy today, the situation has not gone wild but it could. Infact it is widely believed in the corporate circle that there abound lots of sick companies which need to merge, be absorbed etc with other companies with bigger financial muscles.

Mergers are sometimes shrouded in secrecy, a situation which has led some observers to speculate that a lot more mergers and acquisitions might have taken place than met public knowledge.

This might be true considering that the view of the SCoA/CPI "management contract" was a shocker to the SEC's boss Mr G.A. Akamiochor during a seminar on the capital market held in Jos, Plateau state last year (see BUSINESS TIMES 8/10/84).

On a general note, there seems not to be presently, a clear-cut guide on the issue of mergers and acquisitions in Nigeria.

Thus, among other things, it was resolved at a symposium on "mergers and acquisitions" organised by the SEC last week, "that considering the non-existence of a formulated and consistent procedural guide to the issue of mergers and acquisitions, the Securities and Exchange Commission should take immediate steps to codify a well articulated procedure to be circulated".

NIGERIA

VOLKSWAGEN ORDERED TO RESCIND PRICE HIKE

Kano THE TIMES in English 23 Oct 85 pp 1, 2

[Text] **THE Federal Government yesterday ordered Volkswagen of Nigeria Limited, (VON) to rescind, within 24 hours, its latest price increases on vehicles manufactured by the company.**

Making the order during an unscheduled visit to the company in Lagos, the Minister of Industries, Alhaji Bunu Sheriff Musa, said that the unilateral price increases by the company made "nonsense of the presence of government in this country."

He said that the price increases must not be allowed to go unnoticed, particularly when President Babangida had recently announced a 15-month economic emergency in the country, and the burden of

such increases would be felt by the common man.

Alhaji Bunu said that the company should have waited for government's decision on its request for price increases, adding, "you need to convince government before you can revise prices."

"I am giving you 24 hours within which to make public your decision to comply with government's decision on the matter", the minister told the Managing Director of the company, Mr. Kiasus Von Bothmer.

Alhaji Bunu said that it was unfair of the company to apply the effects of the global economic recession by using this year as a "base year" irrespective of the company's past profit in Nigeria since its inception in 1975.

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NIGERIA

## ANAMBRA STATE ADOPTS INCENTIVE TO LURE INVESTORS

Enugu DAILY STAR in English 26 Oct 85 p 1

[Article by GII Ugwu]

[Excerpt]

**A** NAMBRA State Government is set to give industrialists a big assistance, as soon as they come forward for any venture, especially in rural industrialisation and development.

The state governor, Group Captain Samson Omeruah, who announced this in a keynote address sent to the meeting of Manufacturers' Association of Nigeria held in Enugu, on Thursday, invited the association to take the opportunity for the industrialisation of the state.

He announced a number of incentives which include:

- The provision of industrial estate with all-season road network, water, electricity and

other facilities suitable for medium and small-scale industries.

- The provision of simple project profiles for industrial projects to enable prospective investors take quick decision and attract financial assistance.

- The intensification of industrial extension units to offer advisory services on technical, financial and management problems.

- The provision of soft loans, through the Fund for Small-Scale Industries scheme (FUSSI).

- And, the establishment of the State Orient Bank to provide development funds, especially to agricultural ventures.

- Governor Omeruah also assured the manufacturers that local raw materials, which have been their bane, would soon be eased off, because the Nigerian Petrochemical Plants at Warri and Kaduna would be in full production by 1986 and would provide the needed raw materials.

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NIGERIA

ROCHE CONTRACTS FOR NEW PHARMACEUTICAL PLANT

Lagos BUSINESS TIMES in English 28 Oct 85 p 2

[Text] A NEW Managing

Director has been appointed for Roche (Nigeria) Limited, Dopemu Road, Agege, Lagos State.

He is Mr. L. H. M. van Wilgenburg. The New Managing Director assumed duty on August 20, 1985 and succeeds Mr. J. M. Westerhoff who has served the Company for four years.

Mr. Van Wilgenburg joined the Roche Organisation in Holland in 1963.

He later rose to the post of deputy managing director of the Roche Group in 1980 and was responsible for the pharmaceutical, diagnostic, vitamin and chemical divisions in the Netherlands.

Mr. van Wilgenburg was also responsible for the successful operations of

Roche in Surinam (South America) and the Dutch Antilles, (Caribbean).

Mr. Van Wilgenburg was a board member of the

Dutch Association of Pharmaceutical Industries from 1982-1985.

Exactly one month on assuming duty in Nigeria, Mr. Van Wilgenburg has signed the contract for the construction of a pharmaceutical and feed premix plant within the company's head office, Dopemu Road, Agege, Lagos State, with Messrs Inaco Limited, Building & Civil Engineering Contractors.

The new managing director is of the opinion that with the Federal Government's assistance on import licence, Roche (Nigeria) Limited will be able to blaze the trail by bringing out their locally manufactured products into the Nigerian market in the later part of 1985.

The company's labour force is expected to increase substantially during this period.

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HIGHER PRICES FOR FARM PRODUCE ADVOCATED

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 25 Oct 85 p 5

[Article by Aliyu Biu]

[Text] PRESIDENT Ibrahim Babangida has said that prices given to farmers last year, were not good for most of the crops produced and that this would be corrected.

General Babangida said this at an interview with the *New Nigerian* - the first he granted any media, since he became president. He assured that government would give good prices to farmers for their farm produce this year.

The president pointed out that the country was unable to achieve self-sufficiency in food, "because there is something basically wrong with our strategy of development." He also assured that government would review prices of crops and the strategic grain reserve programme of the 1970s.

This package is very reassuring, coming from a man who has the interest of agricultural development closest to his heart. As president, he will do all he could to take Nigeria out of its food problems.

Without mincing words, there are certain things wrong with our agricultural development and most of them border on policy. One of them was that, those of us concerned with agricultural production in this country, have for years been calling for a better price for farmer's produce in order to stimulate agricultural production, but to no avail.

For example, this year, the Nigerian Cotton Board (NCB) said it will pay ₦800.00 per tonne of cotton and the Nigerian Groundnuts Board (NCB) offered ₦750.00 per tonne of Groundnuts; ₦800.00 for Ginger and ₦500.00 per tonne of soya beans. The Nigerian Grains Board (NGB) also said it will pay ₦560.00 for a tonne of guinea corn and millet; ₦510.00 for a tonne of maize and wheat and ₦770.00 for a tonne of paddy rice.

These prices are rather encouraging, considering the time; energy; resources and imputs employed by farmers from planting to harvesting period. In other words, farmers do not quantify and translate their entire labour in monetary terms, to enable them know if their farm produce is selling at profit or loss. Once large quantities of grains flood the market, their prices automatically drop like what is happening now. In the market place, there is no actual yardstick or guaranteed price for farmers' produce.

Because of this farmers became tempted to take their produce to our neighbouring countries of Niger, Chad or Cameroun, where they will get three or four times what is being offered them at home. Hence, the rate of smuggling.

Measures taken in recent years to discourage them from smuggling farm crops out of the country,

has only succeeded in making most of them to resign from farming. This is not because they don't want to farm, but because if they do, the price is not favourable at home and if they smuggle it out, the law will catch up with them. So the only option is to abandon farming and look for a job else-where.

Take the case of the Nigerian Cotton Board for example. Throughout my nationwide tour on farm crops, I hardly saw one Cotton field out of 200 farms. Why? Because the price offered is unattractive.

Even without the outbreak of the Rosette wiped out 70 percent of the entire groundnuts cultivated this years there is hardly any farmer that will sell a tonne of groundnut at 800 naira, when he knows that the ordinary market price is 1,500 naira. And if he smuggles it out, he will get up to 3,500 naira. So where are we?

Most farmers cultivated maize, millet, beans and Guinea corn this year. And signs of a bumper harvest is apparent all over the country, as prices of crops have dropped by more than 60 per cent.

If this low pricing is allowed by our policy makers to continue, I guarantee you that more than 80 per cent of them will not farm next year....and we shall be back to square one - "importing all sorts of food items which we can produce. This will further empty our already battered foreign reserves, which we are all trying to protect."

In order to stimulate agricultural production by encouraging more people not only to farm, but also to discourage them from smuggling, the FMG should pay at least 1,000 naira for a tonne of Guinea corn, maize, wheat and millet; 1,500 naira for beans; cowpea and soybeans and 2,000 naira for cotton and groundnuts per tonne. After all, it is better to keep the money circulating

in Nigeria among Nigerians, rather than giving it to foreigners, in the name of "importation of foodstuffs to feed the nation". This way, we can grow more and export the surplus grains to other needy countries.

Manufacturing companies; poultry millers, breweries etc. should either grow their own raw materials or purchase all their new materials requirements from the FMG agencies, at a subsidised rates, so that finished goods can come within the reach of the average Nigerian.

Prices of other crops being sold in the open markets should be fixed at a reasonable rate. To ensure that these prices are strictly adhered to, government should reconsider reviving the price control boards in the states to bring erring traders to book.

Secondly, the FMG. should start purchasing farm produce from farmers from the month of August and not in November or December. This will flush the unscrupulous traders who are now going from one village to another, buying up all farm produce from farmers at rock bottom prices. Their trade in stock, is to store away such crops and bring them out and sell them in November or December to the state governments. See how the farmers are being cheated?

Obviously one cannot blame the farmers. They have their farm produce at hand and they needed money so badly to service urgent problems. And the only way is take their produce to their village market days and sell them at give away prices. This is where the unscrupulous traders come in.

To check this anomaly, the F.M.G. should set up depots near every village market, to purchase crops from farmers on market days begining from the month of August each year. If this is done, actual farmers will benefit from government's price and would be pleased to continue to farm.

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NIGERIA

NEW HIGH YIELD PALM SEEDS DEVELOPED

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 24 Oct 85 p 16

[Text] The Nigerian Institute for Oil Palm Research (NIFOR) has developed early yielding, disease-resistant hybrid palm nut seeds which have a field potential of 15-18 metric tonnes fresh fruit bunches and 4 to 5 tonnes palm oil per hectare, per annum.

This is in contrast to the 2 to 3 tonnes of fresh-fruit bunches and 0.5 tonnes palm oil per hectare per year from the unimproved palm.

These were made known on Monday by the acting Director of NIFOR, Dr. D.O. Atage, while briefing the Minister of Science and Technology, Prof. E.U. Emovon, on the occasion of his official visit to the institute in Benin.

Dr. Atage further said that from the selections made in the first breeding cycle which was recently concluded, elite materials had now been identified which had yield potentials of 20 to 23 tonnes per hectare of fresh fruit bunches, adding that these materials would be available for distribution to farmers from next year.

Enumerating the achievements of NIFOR since its inception in 1939, Dr. Ataga said, in the area of coconut research, hybrids had been developed yielding up to 80 to 200 nuts per palm a year.

The hybrids "come into bearing three to four years after planting as against seven years for the unimproved coconuts", he said.

Dr. Atraga added that, so far, 20 species of Raphia had been distinguished by NIFOR, of which Pahia Hookeria had been observed to be a very high wine-yielding palm.

According to him, NIFOR has designed and fabricated, with the assistance of the FAO and UNDP, a complete set of small-scale equipment to cater to the needs of the small-scale equipment including 18 complete sets and 10 horizontal digesters had been produced and installed in various locations in Anambra, Bendel, Imo, Rivers, Cross River, Ondo, Oyo, Ogun and Lagos states.

Dr. Ataga also said a nutcracker to go with the equipment had now been designed and was currently being tested by NIFOR engineers.

He projected the annual growth rate of the industry in Nigeria at 2-3 per cent against 21.60 to 40 for Ivory Coast.

He therefore, called on the country to redouble it's efforts to meet its domestic requirements and have surplus for export.

In his speech, the minister said he was very happy about the institute's efforts not only in producing high yield palm and coconut trees but also in making sure that their products were processed.

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NIGERIA

## EDITORIAL CALLS FOR STRENGTHENING GEOLOGICAL SURVEY

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 23 Oct 85 p 1

[Editorial]

[Text] WITH the exception of crude oil, our other natural resources buried underground have been treated with neglect. The geography books are full of references to "mineral resources" and the disused minefields in Jos and Enugu are mute testimony to the existence of these resources. For as long as we neglect these resources for so long shall we continue to spend staggering amount of foreign exchange for their importation as "raw materials". We sure need to go beyond merely identifying our resources in this period of economic emergency.

Imagine the plight of the Federal Superphosphate Fertiliser Company in Kaduna (FSFC) which, established about nine years ago, remains incapable of achieving more than 45 per cent production. Blaming water and electricity problems for this poor performance is shadow chasing. The real culprit is our failure to exploit our resources to our own advantage. It is unable to live up to expectation because it suffers from raw material problems also. The phosphate it requires has been coming from Togo at an annual cost of about two million Naira, while our much publicised deposits in Ibadan, Umuahia and Sokoto remain experimental fields.

It does not look as if we can be out of the woods in this respect unless and until the Geological Surveys Department is equipped to carry out its functions efficiently. This department has the potential to put some reality behind our dreams for mineral self-sufficiency but as it stands today even that potential is in danger of becoming a pipe dream. Its problems remain equipment and material. Given the vastness of its operational area and the amount of excavation it must carry out, it is indeed unfortunate that all it can boast of are two antiquated rigs of inadequate capacity which constantly break down. We are just not serious about exploiting our God-given resources.

If we find it necessary to organise seminars and workshops where so much is said about the location of these resources and how much in foreign exchange we will save by being able to exploit them we ought to remember that talking alone will not do the trick. We have to act positively in favour of the Geological Surveys. The two million Naira we pay to Togo could, for example, revamp the condition of the department sufficiently enough to make a headway in its work on the Sokoto phospha-

te deposits. The department needs budgetary attention and priority to enable it perform and give some meaning to self-sufficiency. After all, phosphate is just one of the many mineral resources this country is known to have but which have been persistently imported because we don't think the Geological Surveys Department deserves more than a poor cousin status.

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NIGERIA

SHARP DECLINE IN MILK SUPPLY REPORTED

Lagos BUSINESS TIMES in English 21 Oct 85 pp 1, 24

[Article by Dapo Ajibola and Ted Odogwu]

[Text] The cause of the present-nationwide rise in the price of milk has been identified. A survey conducted by the Business Times, last week, revealed that the market now has only 10 per cent of the national demand for milk estimated at 12 million cartons yearly.

The Nigeria National Supply Company, in an effort to improve the situation, had in May this year contracted for a N50 million supply of the commodity from two foreign companies.

The orders that would be of two brands, 60 per cent of Peek milk, 40 per cent of Canada best, are expected to be delivered at the rate of 300,000 cartons per month.

Investigation showed that a carton which comes out of the factory for a price of N25 now sells for between N80.00 and N85 in the market.

It was reliably learnt that West African Milk Company (Nigeria) Limited (WAMCO) which has the only factor producing evaporated milk in Nigeria, has been operating on an average of 50 per cent of installed capacity per month for some time.

Whereas that company when fully operational, produces 2.5 million cartons over a period of one year representing 20 percent of the total market demand.

In an interview the Managing Director of the company, Mr. L. F. M. Dahihaus, disclosed that the company got only 40 per cent of the total import license applied for this year. This has restricted the quantity of raw materials at its disposal.

This situation, the managing director claimed has been responsible for the 50 per cent reduction in production.

To reduce dependence on importation of raw materials, the company has been negotiating with the government on establishing a fully integrated dairy project in Plateau State, where already are pockets of viable cattle farms and infrastructural facilities that will enable a quick take-off of the project.

Already, a team of dairy farming experts have completed feasibility studies on the N4 million project which is to be co-financed by WAMCO and its parent company ("Cooperative condensfabrick Friesland W.A.).

When in production, the factory would be wholly fed with fresh milk from its own farm and the surrounding farms of local farmers who will be given incentives by the company.

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NIGERIA

SHORTAGE OF TECHNOLOGICAL EXPERTS HITS NNPC

Lagos BUSINESS TIMES in English 21 Oct 85 p 24

[Text] Research findings show that there exists a shortage of technologists in the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) conglomerate. The shortage runs to 69.3 per cent of the corporation's 4,899 manpower requirement.

The findings made available to the BUSINESS TIMES in Port Harcourt were carried out by Dr. Bedford Fubara, dean, faculty of management sciences, Rivers State University of Science and Technology.

Dr. Fubara said that because of the shortage, the country's oil industry depend largely on foreign technologists adding: "The industry to that extent is foreign to Nigerians and therefore dangerously foreign dependent".

The gaps between available indigenous manpower and manpower needs of the industry are too wide that these would require special policy on training to bridge.

In the findings, he recommended that government should be required to ensure that those who are designated technologists are those who hold the Ordinary National Diploma (OND) in any technical or engineering study.

These persons are likely to be curious to understand the usefulness of their inputs in the process of oil exploitation.

He added: "These technologists should be made to pass Oil Technologist Tests (OTT) to qualify as oil technologists".

Dr. Fubara further recommended that it should be made mandatory on oil companies to train their technologists in institutions of higher learning approved by the Ministry of Science and Technology and the NNPC.

Said the lecturer: "At the national level, it would be necessary to require that elementary schools de-emphasise conceptual studies in the first five years from nursery schools in favour of science and science studies involving manual dexterity.

"Conceptual studies should be introduced for the next five years side by side with studies in science and technology. Such students are likely to be mature for secondary school work in science and technology at the age of 14".

He further recommended that there should be conscious efforts to tilt learning at the secondary school level to 70 per cent and 30 per cent social studies.

#### 1985 NNPC CONGLOMERATE MANPOWER NEEDS

No.	Area	Available	Requirement	Shortage
1.	Petroleum Engineers	117	1,527	1,410
2.	Geologists	49	402	353
3.	Geophysicists	33	208	165
4.	Engineers (excluding Petroleum)	129	210	81
5.	Statisticians	2	35	33
6.	Computer Analysts/ Programmers	79	279	218
7.	Chemists	34	180	146
8.	Technologists/ Technicians	1,060	2,040	980
Grand Total		1,503	4,899	3,396

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CSO: 3400/383

NIGERIA

RAILWAY CORPORATION EQUIPMENT DECLARED OBSOLETE

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 28 Oct 85 p 24

[Article by Kola King]

[Text] Most of the locomotives of the Nigerian Railway Corporation (NRC) are due to over-age and high cost of maintenance and in need of new engines or be written off, a report on the Nigerian Railway Corporation and National Transport Development, has said.

The report said the employment of the near-dead locos on services, accounted for the high incidence of locomotive failures in traffic. This problems has further been compounded by the critical shortage of parts and materials for maintenance of railway infrastructure.

According to the report, the present stockholding of locomotives is 189. Out of this number, 72 have exceeded their design life, some by as much as seven years. The normal service life of a locomotive is between 20 and 25 years, which technically means that at least one locomotive needs to be replaced every year.

Besides, the NRC has not purchased new locomotives since 1976 when the last batch of 50 locomotives were pressed into service.

Also, the report said the programmed requirement of locomotives for operation per day is 148 locomotives but the daily availability average 90 locomotives per day or 60.8 per cent of daily requirement. 310 locomotives are required in service to meet traffic projections of 4.9 million tonnes of freight traffic and 21.3 million passenger journeys by 1990.

On wagons, it said out of the bookstock, of 7,305 wagons only 4,938 wagons are in serviceable condition for traffic movement. More than 62.8 per cent of the wagons in service have exceeded their design life 35-40 years, and the generality of the wagons are unsuitable for the present pattern of traffic offering, which now demands the use of container wagons and openable-roof type of wagons for port-traffic, flats and specially built wagons for conveyance of billets.

Unfortunately, the report said, no new wagons have been purchased by the NRC since 1982.

NIGERIA

## NIGHT VISION AIDS FOR ARMED FORCES

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 26 Oct 85 pp 1, 7

[Article by Shitu Saude]

**[Text]** THE Chief of Army Staff, Major-General Sani Abacha announced yesterday at Jaji, near Kaduna that the Nigerian Army would acquire night vision training aids next year.

General Abacha said the almost total neglect of night training in the army was "one area of serious concern" to him.

The Chief of Staff who made the announcement at the closing ceremony of Battalion Commanders Course held at Nigerian Army School of Infantry, Jaji urged the commanders to give more attention to night training.

He pointed out that the Nigerian Army could only become an efficient fighting machine when the units individually and collectively have attained the desired level of efficiency.

He said while the military institutions would provide the forum to teach and impart the basic skills, battalion commanders should ensure that these basic and advanced skills are improved upon through continued training in simulated operational environment.

General Abacha pointed out that as the army was modernising and acquiring newer and more sophisticated weapons, it was compelled to recruit more educated soldiers.

He told the graduands to encourage their troops to grow their

own food, but said it should not be done at the expense of the army's primary responsibility.

Furthermore, General Abacha urged the battalion commanders to be objective by ensuring that only competent soldiers occupy important posts in the army saying that the army "we are building could not support mediocrity".

Speaking of the future, General Abacha said missions oriented and cost-effective training would be vigorously pursued to maintain the appropriate state of readiness.

He asked the commanders to keep "uppermost in your minds at all times" the array's contingency plan for the defence of the country.

The Commandant of the Nigerian Army School of Infantry, Brigadier Mahe Malami Nassarawa, said the main thrust of the institution's efforts during the three weeks' course had been to prepare the students for the challenges, and responsibilities of command.

He said the scope of instruction comprised lectures by experts in various fields, seminars, panel discussions and demonstrations covering the Mechanized Infantry Battalion Headquarters in the field and also the use of armoured personnel carriers and armour.

Brigadier Nassarawa said that courses such as the one concluded by the commanders should be seen as part of the institution's efforts to show up both the quality and tone of command in the Nigerian Army.

NIGERIA

ABACHA, ALFA TEST FLY NEW BRITISH JET

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 23 Oct 85 p 16

[Text]

CHIEF of Army Staff, Major-General Sani Abacha, Chief of Air Staff, Air Vice-Marshal Ibrahim Alfa and some top military officers left Lagos yesterday for Kaduna on a demonstration flight aboard a new British built aircraft from the Hawker Siddley Company.

The aircraft, a hawker Siddeley HS 125, 800 is the latest of the series of the aircraft in the market today.

The Federal Military Government has already acquired two of the HS 125, 700 series.

According to a military source, the new aircraft was flown into the country by the company for a one-week test flight.

The source said the aircraft, which arrived Lagos last Friday, is faster and has a longer haul and more modern instrumentation than the HS 125, 700 series.

The new aircraft (HS 125, 800), the source further said, flies at an altitude of 43,000 feet while HS 125,700 flies at 41,000 feet.

Nigeria, the source said, has not indicated any willingness to buy the plane.

The hawker HS 125,800 is an eight seater, excluding the crew and sell for about six million pounds sterling.

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CSO: 3400/388

NIGERIA

BALI ANNOUNCES NEW MILITARY POLICY

Kano THE TRIUMPH in English 22 Oct 85 p 2

[Text] A NEW military policy for the Nigerian Army is expected to be operational in three months time, the Minister of Defence Staff and Chief joint Chiefs of Staff has said.

Declaring a four day seminar on maintenance in the Nigerian Army closed in Minna, the commandant of the Nigerian Defence Academy, Major General Paul Tarfa, on behalf of the Chief of Defence Staff explained that the policy would be based on the recommendations as contained in its blue print.

The Chief of Staff observed that the implementation of the blue print would go along way in solving the problems identified.

He implored the Chief of Army Staff to give the recommendations the attention they deserve.

The Defence Chief was of the view that if a well planned maintenance service was set up, it would go along way towards ensuring the redirection of optimum value from our equipment in service.

In his vote of thanks on the occasion, the Commander of the Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC) Brigadier D. Ajayi also observed that when implemented, the blue print would go a long way towards solving the maintenance problems that has for long beset the Nigerian Army in particular and the country in general.

The four day seminar was organised by the Training and Doctrine Command (TRADAC) of the Nigerian Army with its headquarters at Minna, the Niger state capital.

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CSO: 3400/388

NIGERIA

SUBMARINE FOR NAVY PLANNED IN NEAR FUTURE

Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 22 Oct 85 p 17

[Text]

THE Nigerian Navy may soon own a submarine ship, Chief of Naval Staff, Rear Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, said in Lagos yesterday.

Rear Admiral Aikhomu disclosed this when the British Army Chief of General Staff, Sir Nigel Bagnell, paid him a courtesy call.

The Naval boss told Sir Bagnell that although the Navy realised the urgent need of the submarine, the lean times had caused the delay to acquire one.

He said that the Navy has started to diversify its activities. Admiral Aikhomu stated that "we are thinking of getting one".

Sir Bagnell, who arrived in the country in company of his wife on Sunday, is currently on a five-day visit to Nigeria.

Admiral Aikhomu said bunkerers and armed pirates are

of major concern to the Navy.

He told the British Army Chief that the Navy intended to commission an air station, which according to him, would be very tactical.

"Although it will not be too large, it will be enough to meet our requirement", he said.

Sir Bagnell was accompanied to the office of Rear Admiral Aikhomu by the Chief of Army Staff, Major-General Sani Abacha, whom he had earlier called upon.

The British Army Chief, who also met with the Chief of Air Staff, Air Vice-Marshal Ibrahim Alfa, was told by the Air Chief that 80 per cent of the Air Force engineers and pilots were trained in Russia.

Language, Air Vice Marshal Alfa said, is no barrier to the Nigerian Air Force men in Russia.

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CSO: 3400/388

NIGERIA

BRIEFS

OIL TANKER COMMISSIONED--Nigeria's 6.2 million dollars oil storage tanker, rechristened M.T. Tuma was commissioned by the Minister of Petroleum Resources, Professor Tam David-West, in Lisbon, Portugal on Wednesday. The tanker, formerly known as Misea Breeze is expected to save the Federal Government about four million dollars a year. A statement issued by the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) in Lagos stated that M.T. Tuma would replace Merryland, which the corporation had hired at 3.8 million dollars per year, for a long time. Purchased with an additional cost of 2.5 million dollars for refurbishment and spare parts, M.T. Tuma is about 16.7 metres long and weighs about 136,100 metric tons in full capacity. It can store, three different grades of petroleum products with its 12 tanks excluding slop tank and has a maximum of 24,000 break horse power. [Text] [Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 25 Oct 85 p 9] /13104

NEW PRODUCER PRICES--Producer prices for cocoa, tea and three types of coffee have been approved for 1985/86 season. A statement issued by the Cabinet Office, Lagos, gave the new producer prices as cocoa - 1,600 Naira per tonne; Arabica coffee 1,450 Naira per tonne; Robusta coffee 1,250 Naira per tonne; Liberica coffee 1,166.40 per tonne and tea 700 Naira per tonne. The 1984/85 prices for the cash crops were respectively 1,500 Naira, 1,405 Naira, 1,248 Naira, 1,166.40 Naira and 700 Naira each per tonne. [Text] [Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 26 Oct 85 p 9] /13104

FOREIGN ASSETS--The foreign assets of the banking system in the country stood at more than one billion Naira at the end of July this year. This represented a decline of 263.7 million Naira from the level at the end of June. The drop in foreign assets resulted from the increase in foreign exchange outflow. According to a Central Bank monthly report deposit liability in commercial banks amounted to over 13 billion Naira in the month under review indicating an increase of 1.4 per cent. On the other hand, liquidity ratio of the banks fell from 69.5 to 67.7 per cent in the proceeding month of June, while their cash ratio also declined from 5.8 to 3.7 per cent. There was no new issuance of treasury certificate as none were retired during the month. [Text] [Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 24 Oct 85 p 9] /13104

UGANDAN POLICE TRAINING OFFERED--Nigeria has offered to train an unspecified number of Ugandan policemen in an effort to contribute towards improving security in the country, Uganda radio reported yesterday. The radio said that

the offer was contained in a special message from the President, Major-General Ibrahim Babangida, to Uganda's Head of State, General Tito Okello, on Monday. The Nigerian High Commission in Kampala would not however, say how many police men Lagos was offering to train. Uganda radio said the facilities had been offered with effect from this year. [Text] [Kano THE TRIUMPH in English 23 Oct 85 p 1] /13104

CSO: 3400/389

SENEGAL

BRIEFS

FINANCING FOR POWER STATION--Dakar, 25 Oct (AFP)--A Senegalese project of electrical equipment providing for the construction of a new 40 megawatt diesel power station benefitted from an accord for its financing from international and African financial backers after a meeting in Dakar. According to an official release, the financial backers, the World Bank, the French Central Fund for Economic Cooperation, the African Development Bank, and the West African Development Bank, have reaffirmed their desire to finance the project up to \$60.5 million. The remaining sum of \$20.8 million will be supplied by the Senegalese electric company, Senelec. The project, which will be operational in 3 years, will include the implementation and the maintenance of existing installations, as well as a training program in addition to the construction of the power station. Lines of distribution and transport will also be constructed. This should enable Senelec to increase its present capacity which is now estimated at 180 megawatts.  
[Text] [Paris AFP in French 1044 GMT 26 Oct 85]

FRANCE ACCUSED OF DISCRIMINATION--United Nations, Geneva, 23 Oct (AFP)-- Two lawyers from Dakar on Wednesday filed a suit with the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva on behalf of some Senegalese ex-infantrymen who are accusing France of racial discrimination against them. The former serviceman accused France of having arbitrarily changed their former pension entitlements, based on the number of their years of service to France, into simple "benefits" which are no longer geared to the cost of living as the French pensions are, and are not transferable at all to widows and orphans. Mr Babacar Niang and Mr Oumar N'gala Ndiaye, the two lawyers, stated that a Senegalese ex-infantryman with the same rank and same number of years of service earns only 38 percent of the retired pay received by his French counterpart. Arguing on the fact that former soldiers of the Foreign Legion with European origin, notably the Germans and Italians, have retained exactly the same pension rights as the French soldiers. The plaintiffs believe that this is a case of "marked racial discrimination." [Text] [Paris AFP in French 0817 GMT 24 Oct 85]

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CSO: 3400/352

SOUTH AFRICA

AFRIKANER CORRESPONDENT VISITS ANC HEADQUARTERS IN LUSAKA

Johannesburg FRONTLINE in English Oct 85 pp 18-20

[Text] "H, I see you are a quick learner," said Thabo Mbeki as he watched me turn a labelless bottle of Zambian beer upside down to detect any unidentified floating objects.

This sentence can land me in big trouble. For Thabo Mbeki is a person listed in terms of Section 23 (1) of the Internal Security Act, 1982, and may not be quoted, even if he is only passing comment on the state of the brewing industry in Zambia. But let's take a chance. Our country does seem to be getting so much more sane in so many ways.

Turning the beer bottle upside down is the sort of necessary action you have to take if you want to stay healthy in post-independence Lusaka. You have to go through similar motions when you speak to the ANC in their lair and try to determine what they really think beneath their exterior of sweet reasonableness.

It is 01h30 and I am sitting in my hotel room in the Zambian capital discussing violence with Oliver Tambo's heir-apparent. Its not "violence" like in "Hegelian perspectives on . . ." or "Marxist interpretation of . . ." but "violence" like in "bombs going off in Church Street" and "thugs moving through black townships killing and maiming innocent civilians."

That is my perspective and experience of violence. I live in a white community fearful of an alleged ANC threat to extend the armed struggle to the white doorsteps.

But we also talk about the violence inherent in the South African socio-political system. About the iniquities of apartheid. About the official who demands to see your pass, the policemen who burst into your home, the inferior education and housing and the castrated feelings of Blacks who are powerless to change anything.

I do not know much about this perspective. But Thabo Mbeki does, even though

he fled the country as a young scholar in the early Sixties.

Today the 43 year old Mbeki, the son of Pollsmoor prisoner Govan Mbeki is the rising star in the ANC hierarchy. Sussex-educated with roots in both the political arm of the movement, where he is presently chief of publicity and information, and the military wing where he once served as political officer of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

I found myself, a Boertjie in Oliver Tambo's kraal, going through a strange set of unexpected developments.

"Why don't you come and visit us yourself?" Tom Sebina, the ANC's press officer, said a few days earlier during a telephone conversation.

I jumped at the opportunity, naturally, and will do so again. In spite of P.W. Botha's public rebuke of South Africans who talk to the ANC. They need not go to Lusaka to find out what the ANC thinks, he said at the Transvaal Nat Congress. That information you sommer get at the Union Buildings.

Oliver Tambo may not be the government's favourite son but in Zambia he sure carries a lot of clout. This I found out very soon after my arrival at the Lusaka airport.

White Afrikaners are not exactly a protected specie in Darkest Africa, especially if you arrive unannounced without a valid visa or health certificate. But a few phone calls later I obtained a temporary permit when an official announced to his colleagues that I am "the personal guest of Oliver Tambo."

I arrived in Lusaka on the Wednesday before the historic meeting between the ANC and the top South African businessmen.

On the Saturday morning I found myself at the ANC headquarters in downtown Lusaka. I don't know what they do with the "millions" they supposedly get from the World Council of Churches or the Swedish

government but they sure as hell don't spend it on capitalist trappings.

"Can the downfall of the Government and the destruction of the South African Security Forces really be planned from here?" I thought to myself when I first saw the rather ordinary house and the few buildings which double as conference rooms.

Comrade Tambo's (yes, they do call each other "Comrade") beige Toyota was parked outside next to the cream coloured Merc of the Red Chinese ambassador who was there to pay his respects.

There are no revolutionary slogans against the walls. No pictures of Lenin or Marx or Mao. Here and there a small picture of Che Guevara and Patrice Lumumba.

A poster of Robert Mugabe is in dire need of some stickytape and one of Fidel Castro exhorts the faithful to carry on the revolution.

A journalist will feel at home in Tom Sebina's office. The table is overlaid with unopened newspapers, telexes, letters, copies of *Sechaba* and *Newsweek* (the banned one).

Whilst waiting for my interview with Oliver Tambo I had a discussion with three ANC veterans: Mac Maharaj who spent 12 years on Robben Island, James Stuart who was a Trade Union activist in the Fifties and Ronnie Kassirils.

Ronnie is a prominent white member of the ANC. He left the country in the early Sixties in disgust over what happened at Sharpsville.

I found them, and the rest of the ANC to be well informed about what is happening in South Africa although the conclusions they draw tend to be simplistic and over-optimistic.

For instance they believe there is some sort of "power struggle" between Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange and his deputy, Adriaan Vlok. They also believe Pik Botha is the front runner in the President's Stakes.

They attach undue importance to incidents like the protest marches by Maties-students and white schoolchildren in the Peninsula. This, they see as telling signs that white South Africans are "revolting" against the Government.

Oliver Tambo's own views are tempered by his many years in exile. I think he knows that the fall of the Government is not as imminent as some of his younger supporters may want to believe. But still, his whole philosophy is based on the belief that this will happen eventually.

Like his colleagues I think he, too, is underestimating the resilience of the Government and the strength of the Securi-

ty apparatus. I doubt whether they realise that the security force hasn't even started to use its real power in combatting the present unrest.

Some of the older generation ANC-members are living in the past recounting bad experiences they had in the fifties and the sixties. Their conversations are laced with phrases like "when the Nats came to power" or "when Verwoerd" did this or that.

They don't realise that in some instances they are trying to break down an open door. They have no idea of the changes that have come about in South Africa. Quite a few of the demands of the Freedom Charter have already been met or are in the process.

But then, the Government's ineptitude in marketing its political initiatives and the bureaucrats' and Security Force's sabotaging of some of these actions have helped to disguise the changing South Africa to those who sit and watch in Lusaka.

Make no mistake, the ANC are not a bunch of angels who want to discuss power sharing and minority vetoes with P.W. Botha and his colleagues. Their objective is not "co-responsibility and joint decision making" within the framework of the Twelve Point Plan.

Don't think you can fool them with logical positivism or vertical differentiation. They want power, naked power, and the complete dismantling of the whole apartheid structure.

But they are also not a barbaric horde who wants to smash the heads of white children against the proverbial oxwagen wheels. They are very conscious of the role white people can play in the "struggle" and in the rebuilding after the "revolution".

They are mindful that the lessons of Africa, the squalor and the hunger, the decay and the inefficiency should be learnt and that this sordid history should not be repeated in South Africa.

"The trains must arrive on time. The lifts should come when you press the button and there should be hot water when you turn the tap," they are at pains to point out.

On other issues they are more ambiguous:

On violence: The leadership go out of their way to dispel the rumour that the ANC has embarked on a planned action to attack white suburbs. They do however concede that it is inevitable that more white civilian blood will shed as the struggle escalates.

Member of the younger generation I spoke to, however, made no bones about

the fact that white homes and "soft targets" should be attacked as part of a new strategy.

The ANC regard their violence as "reactive violence" in response to government actions. It is therefore a "violence which will come when white South Africans will thank the ANC for their actions.

On talks with the Government: The ANC is not interested in a moratorium on violence to facilitate negotiations.

They also reject the government's demand that the ANC must reject violence. It is the government who should cease its violence, withdraw the troops from the townships, release Nelson Mandela and unban the ANC.

This will create a favourable climate for negotiations to take place with the cessation of violence as one of the main points on the agenda.

This may on the surface seem to be an intransigent stance but the ANC points to historical precedents, including Angola and Mocambique, where talks took place whilst hostilities continued.

On the economy: It is obvious to me that the ANC's original fervour for a socialist state and complete nationalisation of industries and private property has subsided.

They still talk about the redistribution of wealth and the breaking up of monopolies but they also emphasise that a large degree of private initiative should remain.

It is no use to bring only political freedom to the masses while an unjust economic system remains, they argue.

Thus far the theory. One of my main concerns is that we may be overestimating the influence of the ANC on the masses of South Africa.

Do the stone throwers and the arsonists really know about the noble principles embodied in the Freedom Charter? And if they do, do they care?

Is the ANC not but a mere shell, a convenient vehicle with a good reputation which is being used by political activists of different persuasions?

If the ANC does manage to take over the country, which I doubt is possible, how are they going to handle the sky-high expectations that they created?

What are they going to tell the cleaner at Anglo American who expects to move into Gavin Relly's office? That the Freedom Charter prescribes a non-racial society with the best qualified man taking the best job?

And the unskilled miner at West-Driefontein who aspires to be chairman of the board . . . ? What will a "free and democratic society" mean to him?

Official ANC rhetoric is that the masses are presently being educated to handle the aftermath of the "revolution."

But in their quiet moments the exiles of the Fifties and the Sixties admit that they are going to have an almost impossible task channeling the expectations of the masses. Already they are having a hard time curbing the impetuosity and the aggro of the Class of '76.

And the Class of '85 hasn't arrived yet. ●

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CSO: 3400/400

SOUTH AFRICA

## KEY PERSONALITIES CROPPING UP IN SUCCESSION RACE

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English 30 Oct 85 pp 1-5

[Text]

President P.W. Botha's embattled government, bereft of national and international credibility, and wracked by deep dissent in its Afrikaner ranks, is unlikely to regain the initiative militarily, politically or economically.

Though Afrikanerdom has been divided since the forming of the *Conservative Party* (CP) in March 1982, the *National Party* (NP) government kept itself together, at cabinet level, until March this year when the police opened fire on black demonstrators in eastern Cape. Thereafter the government was overtaken by events. Inter-ministerial communication, even within the state security council (SSC), became unreliable. Botha and his NP colleagues obviously want to retain as far as possible the loyalty of the Afrikaner *volk*. But beyond this familiar objective there is no agreement on forward planning. The cabinet is almost in a tailspin. Statements of intent about abolishing (or "reforming") the Group Areas Act and influx control are unlikely to result in more than cosmetic changes. For Botha's presidency is coming to an end. The party stalwarts know it; so does the cabinet. The succession race has started, and until it is over the government can be expected to deploy yet more widely, and more ruthlessly, its security apparatus.

The longer the succession battle the more difficult will become the transition to a black-dominated federal government. The alternatives - an attempt to maintain white government, or, at the other extreme, black insistence on a wholly non-federal, black-governed unitary state - will lead to certain revolution preceded by prolonged and bloody anarchy, and economic collapse.

Botha has not given any signals about when he will retire. He might wish to set his successor's course by promulgating more formulae for replacing the Group Areas Act, influx control, and even the Population Registration Act - apartheid's foundation. But it can be assumed that he will retire by the end of next year at the very latest. His health has deteriorated rapidly during the past two years, partly because of the rigour of office for somebody who will be 70 next January, partly because he is understood to have Parkinsons disease.

It is inconceivable that a successor will emerge from outside the NP's top ranks. The plausible candidates are F.W. de Klerk, minister of national education and leader of the dominant Transvaal NP caucus; Gerrit Viljoen, minister of cooperation and development (black affairs); Chris Heunis, minister of constitutional development; and Pik Botha, minister of foreign affairs.

Heunis is undoubtedly extremely ambitious. He is building up his ministry's bureaucracy at an extraordinary pace. A *verligte* (a "progressive" Afrikaner as opposed to a *verkrampte*), he certainly believes he can formulate the transition to a degree of black power-sharing. But he is too much the obfuscatory bureaucrat, and too lacking in either gravitas or political acumen. He has no power-base. And he comes from the Cape, outside the Transvaal power-house of Afrikanerdom. P.W. Botha has tried to groom him as a successor - but has had little success because of the above reasons.

Pik Botha is popular nationwide as an effervescent, to-the-point character. Though he is a Transvaaler, he is not the sort of "organisation" man who

builds assiduously a power-base. Besides, as foreign minister for so long he has not had the time. Nor can he make up for his lack of a party base by offering a far-sighted, statesmanlike intellect. The NP electoral caucus would almost certainly give him more votes than Heunis, but not enough to win. Rather, his votes could be used tactically in a king-making role, as happened during P.W. Botha's nomination.

That leaves de Klerk and Viljoen the clear favourites – the first the ultimate among party organisers, the second a quiet *verligte* intellectual who almost eschews the party-cum-committee ethos. De Klerk is determined, by sheer hard work among the party stalwarts and MPs, to push his way to the presidency. Recently he even commissioned two public relations consultants to write him a detailed campaign brief on how to win the nomination. Viljoen, on the other hand, sits back out of the fray, relying on his intellectual abilities to persuade his colleagues that he is the only candidate capable of saving the nation.

De Klerk, a former lecturer in constitutional law, is widely regarded as a predictable character. As a natural, unoriginal conservative whose whole experience is within the party and Afrikanerdom, he is unlikely ever to emerge as a national figure capable of engineering and presiding over traumatic change. He shows little understanding of black politics or international affairs. And his abilities as a "strategic" thinker are too limited to gain the confidence of the *verligte* members of the South African Defence Force (SADF) – an increasingly important consideration.

Viljoen is without doubt de Klerk's intellectual superior. He is highly respected, not least because he is a former chairman of the Afrikaner *Broederbond*, and can afford to rely on his reputation for national support. He is appreciated by some key senior SADF officers, notably the incoming chief of staff, Gen. **Jannie Geldenhuys**. Unlike de Klerk, Viljoen appears to have accepted the principle of universal franchise and a federal, multiracial government. His nomination as president might well be crucial to relatively peaceful change.

De Klerk knows he has to espouse more liberalism to compete with Viljoen. His public relations brief told him so. And he is trying to press home his Transvaal advantage by wining and dining his colleagues as never before. Viljoen, quite apart from his dislike of popular party politics, is a relative newcomer to the NP elite, and cannot possibly compete with de Klerk in the Transvaal. Hence the importance of Pik Botha's vote, for Pik would certainly support Viljoen.

The most immediate influence on P.W. Botha's strategy, such as it is, will be the results of today's five by-elections. If **Andries Treurnicht**'s CP and **Jaap Marais'** *Herstigte Nasional Party* (HNP) win one or two seats, possibly Bethlehem and Sasolburg, the NP will be under pressure to postpone further reform of apartheid, especially if the CP and HNP gain significantly in the other constituencies. A showing of conservative strength now could well induce a surge of support from the growing numbers of poor or unemployed Afrikaners who have not come to terms with the prospect of power-sharing, let alone black-dominated government.

The tone of debate in the elections is illustrated by the party posters. The HNP caption, under a photograph of a five-year-old blond girl, reads "Don't repeat Rhodesia for her sake". The NP poster merely says "Don't shoot. Think". The HNP then reversed the latter to read "Shoot. Don't Think".

Treurnicht is an intellectual crank with a distorted perception of history and a remarkable lack of foresight. Marais and the HNP by any standards are on the lunatic fringe. A CP-HNP alliance could never gain power because 80% of the Afrikaner electorate realises that would precipitate almost overnight economic collapse followed by internecine war leading to permanent Afrikaner emasculation. Any CP-HNP electoral gain now should therefore be seen largely as a protest vote.

The NP's first dilemma is that it has no time to direct its energies to winning Afrikaner hearts and minds. The interregnum for the NP leadership contest already promises to be a costly distraction. The NP national caucus meeting called for 19 November will probably be used to explain P.W. Botha's intentions again rather than unveil new policies. Conceivably he will announce his resignation.

Its second dilemma is less tangible but potentially more serious: *verligte/verkrampte* divisions within the NP's senior ranks – a division that is also particularly evident in the security forces. At cabinet level it has quintessentially been an ideological gap, with law and order minister **Louis Le Grange**, supported sometimes by transport services minister **Hendrik Schoeman** and de Klerk, propounding the *status quo*. The outgoing chief of staff, Gen. **Constand Viljoen**, a gung-ho soldier who prefers jumping out of aircraft to deliberating on SADF's delicate political position, has usually strengthened the hardliners' hand. Today, however, as economic and security conditions deteriorate, the differences of opinion are increasingly a function of panic.

## A question of Colonels

Beneath the political appointees in the top ranks, the security forces are of course meant to be apolitical. However, there is a hard-core of middle-to-senior-ranking officers throughout the army and the police who make up an often unchallengeable, self-perpetuating bureaucracy, which is far from apolitical. The police commissioner, the youthful **Johan Coetzee**, an intellectual by contemporary Afrikaner standards, is unable to stamp his authority on the ordinary police, let alone the security police (equivalent of the Special Branch), whose new Cape Town commander, Brig. **Sarel Strydom**, does not cede authority easily. The chain of command from the top simply does not work: area commanders, doubtless encouraged by Le Grange's continuous praise, appear to practice a perverse form of internal police democracy, in which even warrant officers make important decisions. The Athlone "Trojan Horse" incident in Capetown, in which police opened fire from wooden crates, was reportedly the conception of the local police. Indeed, under the provisions of the Internal Security Act, the most junior officers are entitled to decide on the use of firearms.

But the vast majority of policemen do not as individuals hold deep-seated beliefs in their role as guardians of the Afrikaner *volk*'s rule. They are often young, poorly educated, over-worked Afrikaners, imbued with the notion that "law and order" means suppressing non-whites by all means. The national police force, at about 45,000-strong, is comparatively small. Training in riot-control is rudimentary. (SADF seems to have instituted a slightly more intelligent training course). And on occasions now they spend up to 18 hours on continuous duty - more than double the normal eight-hour shift. It is hardly surprising that the police fuels so potently the growing unrest.

Within the SADF there is a similar, semi-autonomous stratum of career officers. It is particularly noticeable in Military Intelligence (MI), a department which was built up rapidly in numbers and influence under its former director, Lt-Gen. **Peter van der Westhuizen**, who is now what could best be described as chief of staff of the state security council. From its training school in a former observatory on the outskirts of Pretoria, MI has produced a singularly stereotyped breed of officer, devoid of almost any experience outside South Africa, and reliant on a diet of often impracticable, out-dated courses - in-house or with the assistance of a usually motley number of quasi-academic Afrikaners. Real-politik, based on real information, especially about events in southern Africa, is a rare commodity.

The dwindling number of military attachés from South Africa's foreign embassies provides an element of realism. But few former attachés relish their co-option into MI. Gen. **Magnus Malan**, minister of defence, and Gen. Viljoen are almost the last of the military generation which was partly educated in overseas military academies such as Fort Bragg in the **United States** - or even Sandhurst in **Britain**.

The notion that SADF as a whole is the servant of the government would be absurd if P.W. Botha's administration was more of a collective body. For it is now public knowledge that SADF acts independently of Pik Botha's foreign ministry throughout southern Africa. In **Angola** and **Mozambique**, MI's overriding objective of battling against "communism" has been at the expense of realistic planning. Without an understanding of local politics, or of the individuals involved, such planning is anyhow doomed.

Thus MI found itself in the embarrassing position of having to go through the charade of dealing publicly with *Renamo* representatives **Evo Fernandes** and **Jorge Correia**. Mozambique is in a state of anarchy, and MI neither knows what to do or whom to deal with. And in Angola, having built up **Jonas Savimbi**'s UNITA guerrilla force into a semi-conventional force, SADF finds itself obliged to mount an almost continuous, very expensive conventional military defence of UNITA against a FAPLA (Angolan government forces)-cum-Cuban offensive which uses modern **Soviet** equipment superior to SADF's often obsolete equipment (see box).

Since SADF does not take its orders from the collective cabinet, does it take its orders from the state security council, or even directly from the president? With Van der Westhuizen overseeing the security council, and given Botha's close relationship with the military dating from his long stint as defence minister, it is inconceivable that the president has not broadly condoned SADF's extraordinary freedom of action. A 70-year-old head of state like Botha is to many a godfather figure. His trusted lieutenants tell him what he wants to hear.

The input of the *National Intelligence Service* (NIS), directed by **Neil Barnard**, is a shadow of what it was in the 1970s, when it was known as the *Bureau of State Security* (BOSS), headed by the legendary Gen. **van den Bergh** and supported by president **John Vorster**. Van den Bergh drastically reduced the agency's Africa network, believing that resources could be better used by concentrating on getting intelligence about countries, individuals and organisations which had a direct bearing on South African security matters. P W Botha, after he had overseen Vorster's graceless demise, gave his blessing to MI at the expense of BOSS.

Barnard, an academic from Orange Free State, was appointed director at the age of 33 by Botha. It is hard to judge NIS' effectiveness, or to what extent, if at all, it also operates like an independent fiefdom. Certainly the feedback from its training school in Bloemfontein suggests the same sort of blinkered education as at MI. And some of Barnard's directives bear the hall-mark of an insular academic whose approach is often quite inappropriate to the real job. But NIS is not in the same league as MI, and is not relevant to the theme that Afrikanerdom, devoid of ideology or central direction, is in danger of spinning out of control towards its lowest common denominator: the gun-toting, blinkered Afrikaner who fights all the way to the sea in his effort to resist black government.

The CP, HNP, Professor Carl Boshoff's *Afrikaner Volkswag* (AV) and Eugene Terre Blanche's *Afrikaner Weerstands beweging* (*Afrikaner National Movement - ANM*), in ascending order of extremism, are the open manifestations of Afrikaner resistance. They accuse President Botha of being a traitor. Among HNP, AV and ANM members who read newspapers there are assuredly those who recognise the inevitability of the end of exclusively white rule. But they are members nonetheless because they stubbornly and romantically believe in the Afrikaner cause, and that one day they will establish a quaint "Boerestaat" exclusively for themselves.

### **Lost verligtes**

So long as Botha's government gave the impression of being cohesive, with a safe, pre-determined programme of reform, 80% of Afrikaners and perhaps the majority of English-speakers were happy to support Botha without questioning his authority. Now that the government is seen to be internally divided, with Botha back-pedalling, the economy in a mess and street and township anti-government violence spiralling, educated *verligtes* from all quarters are prepared, unprecedentedly, to challenge his judgment. While the CP and the extreme rightwing are attracting some former NP supporters, many more are moving leftwards, not to the opposition *Progress Federal Party* (PFP), but to a new centre of gravity - to the left of centre. It has little to do with ideology, but everything to do with frustration over the government's inaction - above all since Botha's ill-fated 15 August speech in Durban.

The seizing two weeks ago of passports belonging to the group of *Stellenbosch University* students who had arranged to meet the ANC in Lusaka, resulted in the most striking illustration of Afrikaner rebellion: a motion of no confidence in Botha's chancellorship of the university - the cradle of Afrikaner

intellectuals. The establishing in Johannesburg of a new *verligte* student body was no coincidence. A few days later another bastion of Afrikanerdom, the *Dutch Reformed Church*, announced a plan to dispatch to Lusaka a group of clergymen led by the somewhat maverick **Nico Smith**.

Yet because Afrikanerdom is divided, and still dividing, there is no established rallying point for *verligte* dissent. The PFP, though led by Afrikaner **Frederick van Zyl Slabbert**, has too little back-up and too few forceful personalities to attract the splinters from the NP. **Helen Suzman**, the veteran PFP MP, is almost an institution in herself rather than part of the PFP. And only a few among the PFP executive, such as **Tiaan van der Merwe** and **Peter Gastrow**, are not cast in the mould of comfortable English middle-class liberals - a category that has scant appeal to *verligte* Afrikaners. What is more, the PFP, unwittingly, has got itself into a cleft stick by forming its convention alliance primarily with Chief **Gatsha Buthelezi**'s *Inkatha* movement at a time when Buthelezi himself is increasingly isolated in black politics.

With this background, it is obviously imperative that the presidential succession is completed sooner rather than later, and that it should result in Gerrit Viljoen's nomination. Viljoen has the authority and pragmatism to oversee the transition from white rule - a task in which he would certainly receive the co-operation of Gen. Geldenhuys, a popular, far-sighted general who is thought to have been a PFP supporter.

Meanwhile P.W. Botha remains holed up in what has been described as his "fuhrer bunker" in Pretoria's Union buildings. The irascibility he displayed so consistently when defence minister now returns with regularity. He receives advice from a diminishing circle. And his powerful, egotistic secretary-general of the presidency, **Jannie Roux**, controls access to the president ever more tightly.

Le Grange, the colonels and their juniors in the police force obviously believe the state has enough men and fire-power to contain anti-government demonstrations and riots indefinitely, especially since last weekend's announcement that the police is to recruit 10,000 additional men. But the battle is becoming progressively harder. No longer is there a cycle of violence, as in the past, when there were periods of calm. And firearms are being acquired and used by a growing number of blacks, coloured, and whites. In the absence of wholesale reform, the police and the largely conscript army will remain locked into a losing battle.

Starved of foreign investment and credit, bereft of official financial reserves and weakened by the

outflow of private capital, the economic cost of maintaining apartheid, already intolerable, will become impossible. The business community has on numerous occasions made plain its concern at the government's inadequate pace of reform. Its spokesmen, notably **Tony Bloom** of *Premier Milling*, **Gavin Relly**, **Zac de Beer** and **Gordon Waddell** of *Anglo American*, will certainly persist. But for many it is too late: the rate of corporate bankruptcies is now consistently over 100% up on last year's figures. Clearly there is a limit to the ability of conglomerates to withstand the erosion of their subsidiaries.

Afrikaners, above all the 20% of them who still live in the countryside, have an inordinate fear of a return to the poverty of the 1930s. Three years of drought has forced many small farmers off the land. Every few days there are reports of Afrikaner suicides, sometimes with fathers shooting their families first. Whether in the family or the government, Afrikanerdom is sailing perilously close to the apocryphal story of the scorpion which asks a frog for a ride across the river. The scorpion, to convince the frog of the reasonableness of the request, says that it would obviously not sting the frog because they would both perish if it did. Half way across the river the scorpion stings. The dying frog asks "Why?". The drowning scorpion's reply: "Because I am like that".

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SOUTH AFRICA

BOYCOTT SEEN AS NEWEST WEAPON WITH GREATER POWER

Johannesburg FRONTLINE in English Oct 85 pp 26-27

[Article by Andre Viljoen]

[Text] **T**HE School boycott was already seven months old and bullets and petrol bombs had long become the order of the day.

But, according to Mr Gladwell Makhawula, the president of the Cradock Residents' Association, the white people of Cradock still believed the policemen and officials who told them that things were basically alright in Ilingelihle.

"Next to no whites came to the location. We decided to boycott their shops to try and make them come and see the real conditions under which we live."

And so, in August 1984, was born South Africa's first sustained black consumer boycott. It lasted a fortnight and although the startled white community in this out-of-the-way town sent alarm calls buzzing through official channels, the news was kept out of the Press.

Another six months passed before boycotts were launched in Fort Beaufort, then in Adelaide (where one is now into its fifth month) and a string of other Eastern Cape Towns.

Today there is a concerted bid, spearheaded by the United Democratic Front, to implement trade boycotts throughout the country.

In each town or city boycott committees table different sets of demands, ranging from socio-economic improvements and an end to petty apartheid to the release of detainees and withdrawal of police and soldiers from townships.

But according to Mr Monwabisi Mkaza, a leading black businessman in Port

Elizabeth, the largest city in which the boycott phenomenon has taken firm root, there is no guarantee that overt current efforts by white business organisations to realise some of these demands will stop the trend.

"This is one weapon that the blacks have never used in South Africa before and it has shown that it is effective. I am sure they will not stop because their demands go beyond petty grievances to everything that alleviates the suffering of the black man.

"You see, he has been the underdog for so many years. Now he feels he must take part in the economy, politics and everything."

Mr Mkaza says the East Cape African Chamber of Commerce have at the request of the (now detained or in-hiding) boycott leaders, got township traders to stock up and get their prices in line with city shops. This and the fact that residents increasingly associate their hardships with policemen and soldiers have popularised the boycott. Intimidation of residents by boycott proponents, which was common at the outset of the boycott in mid July has virtually ceased.

His view is borne out by a recent newspaper survey which found that the great majority of Port Elizabeth blacks supported the boycott although it often inconvenienced them. Intimidation was seen

to have played a minor role.

But Mr Mkaza warns that while black traders were profiting now he fears that boycott-linked retrenchments in the city will eventually have a detrimental effect on black business.

Mr Frank Whiteman, president of the Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce, which has recently published an anti-apartheid manifesto, also says the boycott poses a long term threat to black consumers and employees.

He estimates that it has caused an overall drop of about 60 per cent in trade in white business in Port Elizabeth, as well as more ominous retrenchment of staff by smaller traders.

In East London, the second biggest affected centre, small traders have retrenched at least 250 workers and the government has granted permission to cut staff wages by introducing a shorter working week. Queenstown retailers have the go ahead to cut employees wages and hours by up to 80%.

Weeks before the Port Elizabeth boycott started the chamber perceived the advancing threat and urged to establish new communication channels with black staff, says Mr Whiteman.

"But the traders in PE are like those in Cape Town and Johannesburg who say it can't happen to us. Serious reaction from traders here only began about a month after the boycott started."

He says the chamber has managed to restrain some angry traders from hitting back with anti-boycott measures — as has

been tried in some East Cape centres. "That would be a dangerous confrontation set-up and we wouldn't win at all that way."

The Port Elizabeth chamber's new manifesto includes calls for black decision-making in central government, full participation in the economy for all, a single education system, phasing out influx and pass laws and universal citizenship for all.

Mr Whiteman says the new liberal thrust began in earnest last October in response to township unrest and became "more urgent" with the advent of the trade boycott. The chamber's attempts to talk with emergent township leaders had been largely unsuccessful so far and were being frustrated by the detention of boycott leaders.

Elsewhere in the Eastern Cape white businessmen who since the implementation of trade boycotts have started venturing into the arena of negotiation with community-based leaders, are saying the same thing. "We cannot make any progress while the boycott leaders are in detention."

After a prominent Port Alfred black

community leader was released from detention in June, the boycott was nipped in the bud through a process of negotiation. The chamber of commerce and a newly-formed employers' federation and local black organisation pledged to try to establish mutual trust. They also set out to tackle unemployment by establishing small businesses and cottage industries and there was even talk of black representation on the Town Council.

And in Cradock where the boycott seed was first planted and where a new ongoing boycott was launched at the end of June after the disappearance and subsequent mysterious murder of four black community leaders, an apparently transformed white business community has launched the most far reaching initiative of all.

The recently formed Cradock Employers Federation, which aims to tackle the boycott by going to the root of African grievances and trying to effect a lasting conciliation between the divided white and black community, has called a remarkable regional conference of white business and civic leaders from about seventeen Eastern Cape cities and towns affected by boycotts and labour unrest.

"There is a new spirit of awareness in the White community (in Cradock). Everyone is aware that things need to change" says Mrs Faith Collett, Secretary of the Federation.

She says the idea behind the conference was to formulate a regional strategy on addressing black grievances and the economic decline. "Until now each town has been doing its own little thing."

The Federation had held two meetings with township representatives but could not resolve anything because of continued detention of black leaders.

"We told them we appreciated their formation but until our leaders are released we cannot negotiate" say Mr Makhawula.

What are the implications of this new boycott weapon? More unemployment?

Economic ruin for small traders who are only pawns in the game? Yes. But perhaps more significantly it has distanced a growing number of provincial and platteland businessmen from government policy and put them squarely with top big business leaders in the frontline of mobilisation for political change.

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SOUTH AFRICA

ZINDZI MANDELA TALKS TO REPORTER

Johannesburg FRONTLINE in English Oct 85 pp 36-39

[Article by Denis Beckett]

[Text]

**F**OR four reasons I was not looking forward to meeting Zindzi Mandela.

● I anticipated a long lecture about the evils of the systems and my complicity. I know the system is evil. I know the whites are ostriches, fascists etc. It's all true, as our grandchildren will one day recognise. But I get tired of hearing it all the time.

● In my name Zindzi's father has been jailed for a quarter of a century, her mother endlessly banned, herself deprived of passport. Warmth is not to be expected.

● The Princess Complex must surely be big in her, with its normal lousy effects. Ordinary people who'd be better off as housewives or schoolteachers get thrust into prominence by accident of birth and put on airs and ridiculous self-importance.

● What kind of person gets beaten up and hospitalised in a matrimonial row? Not the kind of person I want to know.

So when the appointed time arrives and Zindzi does not, there was little sorrow.

An hour on, the lady appears. She is so unflurriedly apologetic — a missed bus, a misunderstood message — that the prejudices begin to thaw.

After a couple of hours of conversation, they have been hit by a heatwave.

Mandelahood is a double-edged weapon. "There is so much expected of me, and people want me to be a mini Mandela. They tend to overlook the fact that I might have a personality of my own." Zindzi has just gone to the University of Cape Town — a belated first year, eight years after matric at Waterford — with an eye to following father's footsteps into the legal profession.

She went there specifically because she thought she would be less identifiable than at Wits. It didn't work. "I had hardly arriv-

ed when people were coming for interviews, People nudge each other and point and whisper. You feel like a curiosity. It's so uncomfortable. I don't think I'll ever get used to it. When people are friendly, especially when strangers are friendly, it's terrible. I never know whether they are being friendly just because they are nice. I never know whether they are accepting *me* or whether what they're accepting is Mandela's daughter, the talking point."

In circumstances, is a political career on the cards?

"I get thrust into the forefront whether I like it or not. I don't see myself as belonging at the head, by instinct or by inclination. But I do obviously want to play a role. Partly of course I feel myself to be the spokesman of my family, they being the silenced people that they are, and quite separately as a black female in South Africa I have to speak up."

Suddenly, Zindzi presents the first of several odd, strange, surprises.

"Do you mind if I cut my toenails?" she asks.

Mind? Well no, or at least that's what you say. But it is scarcely part of the Anglo-Saxon heritage to suddenly find the office turned into a stranger's bathroom. She outs with a pair of scissors and clips away, gathering the shearings in her closed hand, talking on with no greater diminution of attention than smoking a cigarette would involve. Done, she wraps the clippings into a tissue and packs it away in her bag. Less invasion, of all but convention, than the stubbing of a butt.

Why is it Zindzi who bears the family flag? There are two elder sisters, and one brother. The brother and one sister are technically half-; children of Nelson's first marriage, but Zindzi does not employ the

distinction. Another brother (half-) was killed in a car crash 18 years ago while returning from a visit to Nelson.

"People must find their own directions. My sister Zeni is married into the Swazi royal family. *That* cuts you out of politics all right — whew". The other two are both in the Transkei — one a sociologist, one running the family shop. "They are royalty down there after all. There are ties and links, people can't all be expected to just cut away from everything else because of political pressures..."

Does it still mean much then, this royalty story? "Not in urban areas of course, nobody gives two hoots. But in the Transkei it's all very lahdidah. People who don't give a fig about the big political issues take it really seriously. It's fading away now among the younger generation, but even around Umtata a young man will have to put on at least a pretence of respect for noble families or the elders will give him an

earful. It's very embarrassing actually. People humble themselves. You visit some remote area where they can hardly keep body and soul together, and they slaughter for you. Imagine it."

Zindzi reflects for a moment, evidently on the erratic economics her own noble status inflicts upon the people furthest removed from status of their own. Suddenly, the pensive expression gives way to a peal of laughter. "And there are the honorifics...my family has about 30 surnames. You can be dying of thirst, stopped at a little village after a long trip, an old granny offers you tea. You're standing there with your tongue hanging out and she's holding the tray out to you but you have to hold back while she intones the whole list. Oh yes, it has its perils. But it's still important to the people there. From the old people you hear much more muttering and discontent about K.D. (Matanzima, Transkei's president and Zindzi's cousin) tampering with tradition than you hear about him accepting a government-created post or dismembering the country, and the things that count in national politics."

The more I talk to Zindzi the less she comes across as the kind of person who gets beaten up in a domestic tiff. Hesitantly, I venture: "I wonder if you'd mind if I asked you about something very personal...?"

"Ahah", says Zindzi, swinging her fist in a mock sock at her own eye, "you mean the punch."

As Barnes' Spreekwoorde told a generation of schoolkids, 'n goeie verstand het 'n halwe woord nodig. But it didn't say anything about 'n kwartwoord.

"Yes" continues Zindzi. "That was very meaningful to me. I learned a lot during that business and I think some of it is important. I learned about how there are no support structures, for one thing. You read about women being battered and so on, but you don't pay any attention really. It's the kind of thing that always happens to 'other people' but then it happens to you and you find out where society falls down. People just don't know how to handle this sort of thing. They don't know what you need.

"I'm not complaining about my case. As it happened I personally had quite a lot of informal support. Of course some of that was because of the publicity. Back again to that old 'Mandela's daughter' thing. In fact that was irritating in all sorts of ways on this occasion. One was that I was very upset about people assuming that I couldn't really be hurt by a couple of little punches, it was the media blowing it up because it was me. Actually I was badly injured.

"I'm okay now, I'm not emotionally wounded, scarred on my psyche, and all that. I don't refuse to speak to men. But I did realise quite how little we have in the way of preparation to be able to handle that sort of event. I wonder if you'd bring this up? I do think it's an area where improvement would be valuable.

"Also I was annoyed by the constant references to 'my husband'. I am not married and never was married. I wonder if you would straighten out this small matter. Would you point out that it is not necessary to be married in order to have a child. He gave me a beautiful son, for that I'll always thank him. I now have one ex-boyfriend, no ex-husbands — will you point that out? — and a wonderful child, Kalantsho Zondwa."

The name is thoroughly traditional. As per custom the first name comes from the paternal grandfather, who lives in Pietersburg. It is the Pedi word for a black branch found in a certain rare tree in the area. Zindzi is not sure of the detail. The second name is chosen, as per custom, by the maternal grandfather. What does this one mean? It means something very odd indeed. It means: "to be hated". Or perhaps if you like: "the hated one."

After a moment I ask whether it is reasonable to see in this a suggestion of a certain degree of embitterment on the part of the maternal grandfather.

Zindzi is horrified. I've already seen much of the gamut of human emotions on her volatile features. Now I see distress. "No, no, no, no. My father is not like that. He is not a bitter man, he does not know bitterness. Read his reply to Botha. Where is there bitterness? There is anger of course.

but there is no bitterness ... In any case Zondwa is one of our surnames, it's just traditional, it doesn't really mean anything at all anymore, like white people are called Brown, or Smith, or Carpenter. They're just names."

Zindzi pauses. "Still" she says "I'm always having people saying 'how dare you name a child that?...'"

A move to safer ground seems in order. How often does she see her father? It brings the next surprise.

An enormous grin, a huge embracing beam. "Aah, it's so wonderful, they allow contact visits now. Since July last year. It was so wonderful to touch him. The first visit I actually sat on his lap the whole time, like a tiny child."

What do you mean, touch him?

"You know, touch him."

Are you meaning to tell me that you did not touch your father until July last year?

"Yes, that's right." Zindzi is treating this as something very matter-of-fact. "Not since he went to jail, which was when I was 18 months old. I didn't see him in fact until I was 16."

Perhaps one isn't entitled to get upset about this. *Rules ... law and order... prisons aren't holiday camps.* But we all have our blind spots. There are few things I can imagine harder than being told I may not touch my kids for 25 years.

Zindzi detected my consternation, and, unasked, amplified:

The rule was that children under 16 were not allowed in prison. Her first visit had frightened her stiff. It was not like not having a father at all. She'd always been conscious of this. At two years old, at three, at four, people were saying 'Mandela's daughter'. There was a pride in it, but a distance. She had been able to correspond, yes, but her concept was more of a god than a father. That first visit she was shivering, trembling, but as soon as it began she actually fell in love with him as a father. He realised what she was going through, he drew her into his personality, the grille fell away from her eyes, the glass between them disappeared, the listening warders vanished and she became a daughter. "From then on I have known him, there are no problems at all." Silence for a moment, and then:

"But I still don't know how to live with him, when he comes out..."

July last year was a highpoint. It isn't only touch, it's also sight, full sight. Hitherto he'd been a shape through the grille, head and shoulders, now a complete man. She can show him what she's wearing, they can see each other's gestures and body language. It's a whole new dimension.

When he comes out...is that a when or is that an if? To Zindzi it's a when. The alternative is not allowed to cross the mind.

What did she think of the State President's offer?

"It never meant anything to me. I dismissed it from beginning. So did everybody else who knows even the slightest bit about him or has any understanding at all of what the struggle is about. That was just rubbish from beginning to end and it really surprised me that the newspapers made such a fuss."

But Zindzi surely must have been torn, her emotions as a daughter must have at least in some part wanted him again as a present, accessible, father -- alright, not "free" in the full sense, but shall we say available? Sharing the supper table, like other fathers, whatever the broader level of freedom or otherwise?

Not a damn. Instead, Zindzi tells me this is a very stupid question. And it's a great tragedy the whites remain so ignorant of what freedom is about. Not for one second was she even the littlest bit tempted. She hadn't thought of it as anything to take seriously at all.

Zindzi is tired of this topic by now. This non-talk about non-freedom. She turns to a different side of the coin. "I can only assume that my greatest fortune is that my mother always had enough love for two parents."

"Not that I'm boasting", she trills in the sing-song of mocking a cliché -- "but I do think I am mentally healthy and for that I have my mother to thank. She's wonderful, you know. You probably see her as a political figure, but you must look further. She is really wonderful. How many grandmothers do you know who roll on the lawn with their grandchildren? He lives with her, my son. She treats him as her son. She says all the children I have will be hers. I am just the biological passage to give her more children."

Zindzi's mother is Winnie, Nelson's second wife, a wife for four years and a prison widow for twenty-five, and a public figure by virtue of more than just the bearing of the name. In 1977 Government evidently decided that various banning orders were not having quite the isolationist effect desired, and she was expelled from her Soweto home to the docile Free State dorp of Brandfort. Why Brandfort? No-one knew, no-one explained. It didn't even have the supposed logic, in government terms, of tying in with her nominal ethnic identity. She knew nothing of the local language -- South Sotho. There was much outcry about the particular cruelty of this form of punishment, and much suggestion that the object of the exercise was presumably to knock the stuffing out of Winnie. I ask about Brandfort, expecting at the minimum a show of sadness. But Zindzi is full of surprises:

"She's got so much going there, she'll find it really hard to leave, when the time comes." (When? Again, no *if*). "She's got a clinic there, and a crech . There's an Operation Hunger committee. She's grown into the community, they've grown into her. It built her up, being there. The people were apathetic and hopeless. They'd given up. The yards were barren. There was no idea of self-help, no expression of constructive energy. She's mobilised that place. The people grow vegetables now, there are sewing groups. It's a different community altogether. There's excitement. It's vibrant. She speaks Sotho like a native now, the whole experience just shows what can be done. All it needed was a spur, just something to bring out people's realisation of their own worth."

What of Zindzi's own political outlook? Not surprisingly she has been identified with the "progressive" movement in the current black political conflict — the faction which in line with ANC tradition and UDF practice stresses non-racialism, in contrast with the Black Consciousness segment.

I suggest that all the conflict between the two approaches seems sad; a lot of sound and fury to cover up for the fact that neither of them is making any progress whatsoever towards its stated goal. All we're getting is much frantic governmental fluttering around the edges of apartheid while society as a whole drifts deeper and deeper into a belief in the inevitability of a coming conflagration.

Zindzi bridles. "That's half their mistake. It's only the whites who talk about 'coming'. They want to deny that it is already here; that implies that the situation is reasonable and tolerable now. It is not. That is an offensive and racist belief."

"Well, how do we get out of it?"

"We have tried, we have tried to explain it peacefully, but we are always answered by violence."

"The government is scared that if it does not command the violence it will become victim of the violence."

"That is such nonsense, such nonsense. Botha must only look at Mandela's answer to his offer. It shows how easy peaceful transition can be."

"How do you envisage the government coming to see that, bearing in mind that they are answerable to the white population and the whites on the whole believe the abolition of apartheid means black domination and Idi Amins and a fate worse than death?"

"Botha must recognise that his power is illegal. He must come to terms with the fact that he is not a true leader of South Africa."

"Can you really expect him to pay attention to that sort of demand?"

"He should not be there."

"Can you try to put yourself in his shoes, trying to feel the imperatives working on him, and see what you would do in his position?"

"No way. I won't do that. That is useless. I can't see why anyone should think the way he does."

"What you're wanting is a free and non-racial political process where the majority is free to choose leaders who espouse socialist principles, is that right?"

"Yes, that's right, that's exactly right."

"What if the democratic majority should freely elect a conservative government to power, perhaps a government composed largely of white people?"

Zindzi is nonplussed, in common with practically everyone who comes across this thought for the first time. She is clearly more used to the argument that "the blacks aren't ready," and takes it that this is what I am getting at.

"There is this image of majority rule being like Ethiopia. So what? It will be *our* Ethiopia. It has to end up in a socialist economic structure. That is our value, our desire..."

"Whose desire?"

"Blacks' desire."

"How can you claim to know what 'blacks' want?"

"People want equal rights, they want equal opportunities, they don't want crumbs and charity."

"But they might use equal rights to choose to vote for PW Botha or to work for Harry Oppenheimer?"

"What they want is betterment. Most people don't understand theories, they're not interested in theories. If a conservative economic system gave people what they want, they would probably support it. The trouble is, it *can't* give them what they want, only a socialist system can."

"In the society you foresee, what changes are there to the lives of the whites?"

"There are no drastic changes, there are no squatter camps or anything like that. What they got too easily because of the advantage apartheid gave them will be taken away. They must work genuinely for the common society, like all of us."

"If a white man wants his children educated in the company of other white children, is that okay?"

"That's very racist."

"Does that mean it's not allowed?"

"No, it's not. There has to be real mixing. We are all here, everything we have belongs to all of us. You must accept the society you are part of."

"Nobody insists that Jewish kids aren't allowed to go to Jewish schools. If you have a complete democratic base, then you've solved apartheid. Why do you have to interfere with people's personal liberty?"

"If that sort of thing should turn out to be fully democratically acceptable... then maybe... if no offence is caused..." The words are coming slower, then there is a sudden recoup: "But that's just silly hypothesis, of course that sort of thing would not be democratically acceptable."

As Zindzi leaves she tells me that she'll think around those issues. "I'll agree with you this far," she says. "There's too much complaining now. We get onto platforms, we push our fists into the air, we say that we are oppressed. But now, really, we all know that we are oppressed. There's too much of that. We need something new. We need to find a real way out." ●

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SOUTH AFRICA

CAPE TOWN WHITES FEAR ARRIVAL OF UNREST IN THEIR COMMUNITIES

Kraaffontein Residents Buy Arms

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 27 Oct 85 p 11

[Article by Alan Duggan]

[Text]

THE guns are out in South Africa's most beautiful city — and some of its citizens are getting ready for a showdown that no one can win.

More and more people are buying firearms to protect their homes and families in the aftermath of widespread stoning and petrol-bombing incidents.

In Kraaffontein, about 25km from central Cape Town, a group of residents have formed what they call the "Kraaffontein Civil Unit" — a group of armed men who are determined to protect their

properties and families.

Their attitude is uncompromising. Says the organisation's founder, a businessman with a military background:

"We will not stand for another attack. Anyone who tries to throw another petrol bomb in Kraaffontein will end up dead."

Citizen-band radios will link members of this voluntary force as they patrol Kraaffontein's streets, keeping a watchful eye on homes, schools and government buildings throughout the night.

The "home guard" will be identified by distinctive armbands, says the group's leader — he does not want to be identified — and will employ private citizens' powers of arrest.

He added: "We are looking for mature people with security, police or military backgrounds. We do not want gun-happy cowboys or vigilantes who take the law into their own hands.

"In fact, if we find people like that we'll report them to the police ourselves. We want to help the police — not make their jobs harder."

### Scared

The Kraaffontein Civil Unit was created because residents in the

area were scared and angry about recent attacks, said the spokesman. "There was the violence in Windsor Park (an adjoining township), then stonings and burning tyres on the N1 highway, and finally the arson attack on Bloch's shopping centre. That was the last straw.

"People will learn that if they attack us again they'll have a first-hand opportunity to find out if there's a life hereafter."

The organisation has no link with the police or the local civil defence body, say its members. But they clearly have rules: recruits are warned of the consequences should they violate the law.

The leader added: "We'll act quickly if we are threatened. We are all tired of living in a state of siege."

The same sentiments have been echoed by other Capetonians as seemingly random stoning and petrol-bombing attacks continue — often in broad daylight.

Public anger is running high — and there is increasing talk of armed retaliation among people who would normally go out of their way to avoid confrontation.

For a long time, say observers, these white South Africans saw the rioting as a "Government problem".

To them, the situation was unpleasant and a little frightening, but

as long as it happened somewhere else ...

Then came the attack on Windsor Park — and the fragile shell of complacency was shattered.

It was about 8pm on September 4 when barking dogs first alerted residents of this modest suburb in the Kraaffontein district.

The barking was followed by an even more alarming sound — a police broadcast warning residents to stay off the streets.

Within minutes, a crowd of black youths was raging through the streets, hurling petrol bombs and shattering windows with a hail of stones.

### Choice

But it wasn't a one-sided fight. The intruders had picked on a well-armed and vigilant suburb.

Windsor Park householders were quick to respond with rifle and pistol fire as the mob passed between their houses. At least two people were wounded.

One resident said afterwards: "I've always been a peaceful man, but there comes a time when you don't have a choice."

The quietly-spoken man added: "It was the first time I had fired my gun at anything but a target. I think most of us fired into the ground or

into the air to scare them off." "It may sound melodramatic," said another resident, "but it was a question of their lives or mine. I had a family to protect — and I would never let them be harmed."

Both residents — they do not want to be named — are white South Africans, and the people who threw the crude but potentially lethal petrol bombs at their homes are classified as "coloured".

The Nolan family will never forget their terror as half-bricks thudded onto the roof and a petrol bomb crashed into their yard (the crude device did not explode).

## Frightened

Mrs Cornelia Nolan, 75, and her frightened grandchildren hid in the passage of their home as the chanting crowd stoned the house.

Said daughter-in-law Mrs Marie Anne Nolan, brandishing her 7.65 mm pistol: "This is the only way I can protect myself. I don't even allow the children outside the house any more."

A neighbour, Mrs Yvonne Hoareau, was alone in her home and watching television when she heard a dog barking furiously.

"I looked out of the window and saw tyres blazing on the national road near my house."

She turned away from the window to telephone the fire brigade — and seconds later a brick crashed through the window where she had been standing. Said her relieved husband, building maintenance supervisor Mr Dougie Hoareau: "My wife was lucky." About five bricks were thrown at the house.

## Ritual

Now there's a nightly ritual in Windsor Park. The door locks are double-checked and the burglar bars at every window are tested for the umpteenth time. Security lights are switched on and guns are loaded and cocked. The tension is taking an obvious toll. Residents are suspicious of strangers and at dusk the streets are deserted. Questioned closely, they admit to fears of a second attack.

The Windsor Park attack is believed to be the first time in a year of widespread civil unrest in which residents in a white suburb had experienced at first-hand some of the conflict that rages daily in black townships.

They found it a frightening and demoralising experience.

## Adderley Street Unrest

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 27 Oct 85 p 11

[Article by David Jackson, Alan Duggan, Eugene Abrahams and Bennie Van Delft]

[Text]

THE SIEGE of Adderley Street started with a simple police round-up operation.

But within a couple of dizzy hours it became like a script from a video nastie.

Police Casspirs and water cannon in action along Cape Town's main thoroughfare. Sjambok-wielding policemen in hot pursuit of protesters.

Fleeing black youths — and some innocent bystanders — cringing under the blows of sjamboks.

In historic Adderley Street, the lurid sight of buildings tinged with purple dye — doused by the new police "secret weapon".

For white Capetonians caught in the mayhem, it brought the Cape unrest vividly on to their own doorstep.

According to one black youth, groups of youths had been determined to enter the city centre "to show whites what it is like to be at the wrong end of a sjambok".

It started with humour.

"It's a lovely warm day and we've made you a little wet," blared the loudspeaker

from the police Casspirs cruising down Adderley Street as drenched bystanders reeled from the first burst of the water cannon.

Crowds roared their good-humoured response as if this was some real-life game — with the police showing off their new toy.

## Blockade

Then more ominously from the loudspeaker: "This is your last warning."

Then hundreds of onlookers in Adderley and St George's streets were diving for cover as the water cannon made another sortie, first water — then the purple dye.

Suddenly the mood changed.

A black youth a few metres in front of us beckoned others to join him in blockading Adderley Street.

For a few terrifying seconds motorists were caught in the middle as the youths beat on the car roofs with their fists.

In St George's Street police moved in as youths overturned two cars and smashed a shop window.

Cheers turned to jeers as riot police with sjamboks, batons and protective headgear made their appearance at the foot of Adderley Street.

Then the chase was on, with the "thwack, thwack" of sjamboks. People fled.

A youth was brought down by a police sjambok. He staggered into a shop entrance to join watching newsmen, blood gushing from his face.

Police and newsmen were at loggerheads and tempers flared on both sides. The newsmen were warned to leave. They stayed.

## Overtaken

But an overseas TV crew was taken away by police.

Earlier, youths gathered in front of the Golden Acre Shopping Centre and sang freedom songs. The police told them repeatedly to disperse.

This scene followed an earlier demonstration by a group of singing women, who

were dispersed after gathering off Adderly Street.

A mob then moved up Hout Street, pelting a meat van with tomatoes and overturning two others.

The violence appeared to have started after youths were thwarted by police in their attempts to attend the trial of three men charged in the magistrate's courts with the murder of Police Constable James Farmer.

The policeman was beaten to death in Salt River.

Then, miraculously it was over as suddenly as it began. Had it really happened?

### Muslim Extremists Declare Holy War

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 27 Oct 85 p 11

[Text]

A BIZARRE and terrifying cult is adding an ugly new twist to the wave of Cape unrest.

A group of Muslim hardliners — inspired by the Islamic revolution in the Middle East — is reportedly launching a "jihad" (religious war) against security forces.

The radical group sees "similarities" between the fight against an unjust government under the Shah of Iran and the fight against apartheid in South Africa.

At recent incidents of violence and confrontation and at Cape funerals, chants of jihad have become increasingly common.

This is said to represent an extremist commitment to being prepared to sacrifice life for faith.

The existence of the group,

however, was this week described as "totally unrepresentative" of the Muslim community.

This week, top Muslim theologian Sheikh A Najaar said the frequent clashes of the past few weeks have seen people using violence against police and could represent an increased radicalisation in many communities.

He said Islam always stood for the "downtrodden".

But he said: "Sometimes the kind of violence being perpetrated against us does not allow us to sit back and turn the other cheek ... You have to fight back."

He said there were people in the Muslim community who "derived inspiration" from the Islamic revolution in the Middle East and similarities they seemed to see between South African police action in the townships and the behaviour of the Shah of Iran's troops before he was deposed.

He said it had nothing to do with Muslim fundamentalism.

He said Muslims in South Africa represented only a minor percentage of the total population and the fundamentalists an even smaller percentage of these.

Therefore, the fundamentalists' aim to bring about a complete Islamic order in South Africa was an absolute "pipe-dream", he said.

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SOUTH AFRICA

ANC BELIEVED TO BE MAIN BENEFICIARY OF GOVERNMENT ACTIONS

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 3 Nov 85 p 23

[Commentary by John Kane-Berman, Director of the South African Institute of Race Relations

[Text]

**A** MAN who was once a prisoner in Pretoria, but was destined to be a prime minister, said of the government that they couldn't make up their minds.

"So they go on in strange paradox, decided only to be undecided, resolved to be irresolute, adamant for drift, solid for fluidity, all-powerful to be impotent."

The words are of course those of Mr Winston Churchill in May 1939, giving vent to his frustration at the Chamberlain government's failure to rise to the crisis of the times. Four months later, England was at war with Germany.

Who could dispute that Churchill's words aptly describe our own situation? To take but one of his phrases: is it not a strange paradox that South Africa is racked by its worst urban violence at the very time when the trend of nearly 40 years to entrench apartheid has been reversed and certain reforms are in progress?

Perhaps the strangest paradox is that the principal beneficiary of government actions over the past year has been its most bitter antagonist, the ANC.

Every time a policeman wades into a crowd of black demonstrators with a sjambok he no doubt makes yet another recruit for the ANC.

Calm has to be restored, but present law-and-order methods sometimes seem to aggravate rather than reduce tensions.

The Government has also played directly into the hands of the ANC by attempting to blame it for the current violence in various parts of the country.

The ANC is unquestionably doing all it can to capitalise on the turmoil, but to suggest that it is the main cause is to credit it with a logistical capability it doesn't have.

It has reaped enormous benefits because of the view gaining ground in various circles, inside and outside the country, that talking to the ANC or releasing Mr Nelson Mandela from prison are the only ways to end the violence.

**E**ven the State President's offer earlier this year to release Mandela from prison seems to have backfired.

His demand that Mandela renounce violence — on the face of it reasonable enough — has simply enabled the ANC and its allies to focus attention on the acts of violence committed by the police and defence forces in the black townships.

To overcome our present crisis and lay the foundations of a stable society, the Government needs to create, firstly, a climate for negotiation; secondly, procedures for negotiation; and thirdly, a forum for negotiation.

The initial step required is a public statement of what the end-goal of negotiations is. This would have to be a statement to the effect that the Government has irrevocably committed itself to the sharing of political power in a single parliament according to a constitutional formula acceptable to the majority of South Africans.

President Botha said at the Cape National Party con-

gress in Port Elizabeth recently that he was committed to "a united South Africa, one citizenship, and a universal franchise." These words bring us tantalisingly close to what is required.

He needs to add to them a commitment to a single parliament. He could then say that the composition of that

parliament, and matters over which it would have jurisdiction and so on, would all be on the agenda for negotiation.

A commitment to a single parliament is needed because there is no other way to remove suspicion that the Government still believes in racially separate political structures for blacks and whites.

The powers of parliament could be limited to matters such as defence, foreign affairs, international trade, certain kinds of taxation, the railways, Escom, and the Post Office; practically everything else, including education, being left to regional and local government, perhaps in an American-style federal system.

**S**uch a declaration of intent could be issued unilaterally, but it would need to be buttressed by a number of other steps, which could also be taken unilaterally.

These could include the repeal of the Group Areas Act and the pass laws, immediate repeal of all the detention-without-trial laws, immediate restoration of citizenship, and immediate introduction of freehold rights.

Some of these measures have already been promised, of course, but have been so long in the pipeline that, by the time they are fully implemented in the patchy and piecemeal fashion we have unfortunately come to know so well, their political impact is lost.

The desegregation of the CBDs is a case in point. It has been recommended, studied, investigated, studied again — in fact everything except implemented. By the time it actually happens it will be a damp squib.

Instead of getting credit for knocking away another little chunk of apartheid, the Government seems ham-fisted and lacking in reformist zeal.

These other steps towards the dismantling of apartheid are necessary because of the Government's credibility problem. This has become so large that a declaration of intent on its own will be in danger of being treated like an announcement by the de-

fence force that it is observing the Nkomati Accord to the letter, or is no longer in Angola.

One other major step would also be necessary: lifting the bans on the ANC and other black political organisations.

This would be politically tricky for the Government, but the dangers of not doing it are greater than doing it.

The Government, I believe, is sincere in its desire to enter into negotiations with black leaders. However, any such negotiations would be very seriously handicapped, if not fatally flawed, without the ANC. The same would apply if the ANC's major rival, Inkatha, was absent.

The ANC has a degree of international legitimacy that is considerably greater than the support on the ground in South Africa that it could actually mobilise and sustain. Its status as a banned organisation, with its pantheon of heroes and martyrs, has proved to be more than adequate compensation for its historical weakness on the ground and the handicap of being banned.

**L**ifting the ban would put it back into the political market-place where it belongs. It would have to sell its policies and its strategies like any other organisation, enlarging its support if it succeeds in selling them, and losing it if it fails.

Calling for the lifting of the ban on the ANC is not a plea on its behalf, nor is it intended to imply that it is *primus inter pares* among black organisations.

It is rather a call for black South Africans to be allowed to make democratic choices without the interference of the State.

The bans on the ANC and others should be lifted unilaterally and Mandela and others should be released without pre-conditions. There is no need to negotiate terms.

If a freed Mandela and a de-restricted ANC advocated or prosecuted policies of violence, the full weight of the common law could be used against them.

A climate for negotiation having thus been created, the next step would be to embark

on agreed procedures for negotiation.

This probably means that once black politics have been de-regulated, a period of some two years is needed to allow black political organisations that have been banned to re-constitute themselves internally as democratic parties and to develop — and market — the kinds of policies they would put forward at a national convention to draw up a new constitution for South Africa.

The way to facilitate this process might be to announce now a date two years hence for the holding of an election of delegates of all races to a national convention, which would be the negotiating forum.

There is of course a danger that the ANC (and other organisations) would refuse to participate. It is here, possibly, that appropriate Commonwealth leaders or leaders of front-line states

could play a role in encouraging their participation.

**H**owever, if the steps to foster a climate for negotiation are taken, the ANC would be in a weak position both internationally and regionally if it remained intransigent.

The best scenario, in my opinion, would be that during the two-year preliminary period, the two main rivals for power among black South Africans — Inkatha and the ANC — come together.

Such a combination would have influence at a national convention far greater than either one on its own. Neither on its own is sufficient for a lasting political settlement in South Africa; both are necessary.

If the Government took these steps, South Africa could truly turn over a new leaf.

The alternative is possibly that some semblance of stability may be restored in the townships next year — but this would allow whites again to become complacent so that they would once again be caught napping at the next explosion, which will surely come.

The second half of the quotation from Churchill referred to the Book of Joel, where reference is made to "the years that the locust hath eaten".

South Africa has already allowed too much time to pass and too many opportunities to slip away. The '50s and '60s, when we had good rates of real economic growth, were our own locust years because we used our resources to pursue the mirage of apartheid rather than to build houses and schools and finance other reforms.

Let us not allow the second half of the '80s also to be locust years.

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SOUTH AFRICA

REPORT DESCRIBES HORROR OF TOWNSHIP VIGILANTE JUSTICE

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 27 Oct 85 p 19

[Text] THIS is the face of township vigilante justice — a man is brutally flogged after being "tried" in an open-air "people's court" near Port Elizabeth.

This man was lucky — he was only whipped.

But the full horror of the practice was revealed this week after two men who claim they were sentenced to death by a "people's court" sought refuge with the police.

The men, whose identities have been withheld to protect them, said in an interview with the Sunday Times that they were flogged in front of spectators after a hearing of the "court".

Police say the men gave them a vital tip-off that enabled them to swoop on secret township courthouses this week.

Vigilante violence — some of it reportedly with a political flavour — has exploded in the Eastern Cape.

But, ironically, attempts by a group of political activists to bring an end to vigilante deaths-by-torching in Port Elizabeth were shipwrecked this week when police raided their meeting-place.

### Rigged

The "court" that tried the two men was held in a house, specially rigged to resemble a proper courtroom, in one of Port Elizabeth's townships on Monday night.

They were each given 25 cuts with a cane with leather wound round a thin wire cable.

Both men had deep weals on their buttocks and one had been beaten so badly that chunks of flesh had been taken out of his buttocks.

Their eyes rolled with fear and beads of perspiration dotted their foreheads and streamed down their faces while they spoke.

The men, in their early 30s, said they had been taken from their homes by people calling themselves "comrades" and brought before the "court" on Monday night.

They claim they were charged with refusing to assist in burning down the home of a policeman.

They were each sentenced to 25 strokes and told to report at 10am the next day for the "necklace".

### "Necklace"

In township patois the "necklace" is the death sentence whereby people are doused in petrol and a tyre is placed round the neck.

In a new twist to the "necklace" the victims are now asked to give R1 for "prayer money".

In exchange for their outlay they are given a dagga cigarette which is handed to them once they have been doused in petrol and the tyre placed round the neck.

They are told to light their own cigarette and the petrol ignites.

The dagga cigarette is given to "ease the pain" of the burning.

In the period October 7 to October 21, eight people — including three women — died fiery deaths in Port Elizabeth townships.

Police claim they had all appeared before "people's courts" for various "crimes".

Both men who took refuge with the police this week had paid their prayer money, but they did not report for their rendezvous with death — instead they went to the police and asked for protection.

They are being held by the police and treated for their injuries but their fate is undecided. They will not be able to return to the townships in safety.

It is normal procedure for people to be told to report the next day for the "necklace", according to the police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen.

If they don't report they are fetched by groups calling themselves comrades.

Police first became aware of the existence of the "people's courts" in Port Alfred in February, though vigilante activities by groups calling themselves peacemakers have been common in the Eastern Cape before.

### Courtroom

The system has spread throughout the Eastern Cape, and this week police raided the "courthouse" where the two men were tried.

Police claim political groups may have been responsible for the original establishment of the "courts" but have since lost control of many of the younger and more zealous followers.

In one of the "court homes" which police raided this week, the living-room had been fitted out to resemble a courtroom with panelling on the walls made from three-ply, veneered wood.

A rough replica of the scales of justice was displayed on the wall.

The only furniture was two comfortable easy chairs, for the "judge" and "prosecutor", a long, school-type bench for spectators and a shorter bench where the accused are flogged.

There is no provision for any defence.

## No complaints

The Divisional Commissioner of Police in the Eastern Cape, Brigadier Ernest Schnetler, said that, though police had in the past been aware of the existence of the "people's courts" and the number of people "sentenced" to death by them, nobody had come forward to lay a complaint.

Police knew of one case in East London where a shebeen owner had been sentenced to 200 cuts. He was treated in hospital, but refused to lay a charge.

Brig Schnetler said people were too afraid to lay charges. Police had made a breakthrough this week thanks to the two men who decided to ask the police for help.

Last Sunday detectives from the East Cape murder and robbery squad were surprised when a man they had been seeking on various charges came to them while they were working on another case in a PE township and pleaded with them to "lock him up".

He said he had been sentenced to the "necklace" and would rather be in police custody.

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SOUTH AFRICA

EXILES HAVE ROLE TO PLAY IN REFORMS

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 3 Nov 85 p 23

[Article by John Hays]

[Text]

IT IS clear from President Botha's recent statements that the parameters of the debate are still being defined unilaterally by the National Party.

But the real issue in South Africa is not whether blacks should swim in municipal swimming pools or attend white schools. It is about power, access to it, control of it, and the exercise of it.

It is within this framework that another item should be firmly placed on the agenda — that of the Fifth Column, or South Africans in exile, and the implications their return will have on any future dispensation.

Since the Second World War, punctuated at particular junctures, 1948, 1960, 1976, there has been a slow seepage of South Africans abroad. This group is very heterogeneous, comprising all ages, races and professions.

These voluntary and involuntary exiles found homes in Sweden, England, Canada, US, Zambia, Ethiopia, Australia, Soviet Union — indeed in most countries of the world.

Figures on South Africans in exile are understandably sketchy, and constitute guesstimates at best. It is known that there are tens of thousands in Britain alone.

Another 12 000 black people are understood to have gone into exile during and

after the 1976/77 disturbances. Of these, 1 500 took up scholarships in schools and universities around the world.

Clearly a sizeable percentage of those who have left, legally or otherwise, constitute a real brain drain and are "in waiting", as it were, for a more opportune political scenario.

### Skills

Though the existing skills base of exiles abroad has never been researched, clearly the majority who've been abroad have managed to acquire negotiable skills enabling them to function in their place of exile.

Others have benefited from UN, OAU and other scholarships targeted at disadvantaged South Africans.

The net result has been up to a million qualified South Africans abroad, all of whom have a claim on South Africa, by birth, citizenship, or prior residence.

Some have severed their ties for good, and have made their new domicile their home. But for many, it has only been a temporary sojourn. Africa beckons.

My own contact with South Africans in exile, whether it be in Toronto, London, Moscow, Addis, Lusaka or Harare, has been that they have made marked contributions to their respective countries

of exile, that they demonstrate an uncanny concern with education and the attainment of qualifications, and that they have an overriding commitment to return to a new South Africa.

A long-standing rationale for continued white rule has been the standards issue, the concern for responsible government, and the contention that blacks at present do not possess the knowledge or skills to run the country. This is a legitimate concern.

Though strenuous efforts have been made recently to address the skills deficiency within South Africa, it is apparent that the existing skills' base within the black community is appallingly low.

Furthermore, white apprehension is continually reaffirmed in their everyday lives, with the indiscriminate black-on-black violence, savage burnings, the deference blacks pay to whites, and their special lack of confidence.

Exiled blacks possess no such trademarks. In an open and competitive market their return will have clear implications for both token blacks and poor whites, who will have to train and upgrade themselves if they wish to survive.

At present the private sector is crying out for competent black staff. The time is ripe for their return.

And the exiles will return. It is just a question of timing. Rhodesia was the classic situation of too little, too late.

The primary casualties in the struggle for independence were the rural proletariat and the ex-combatants, who are today casualties in a different sense.

They are the ones without jobs and with little prospect of finding any. The ex-combatants provided the conditions for independence to be achieved, but gained none of the fruits.

The beneficiaries of the struggle were twofold — those that sat at home waiting and seized opportunities when they arose, and those who remained abroad in exile until timing was opportune for their return.

Had Zimbabwean exiles been brought into the decision-making process earlier on much of the human carnage could have been avoided.

The above has relevance for South Africa. Those rioting and burning in the current unrest are not the martyrs paving the way for a new order. They are the real losers. In 10 years' time their contribution to the struggle will be seen as an unpleasant and embarrassing aberration in the history of the nation.

South Africa has a much larger and more competent complement in its exiles. It is time they took their place in the current reform agenda and were active in the process of determining the nation's future.

## Management

With the current state of the nation, there is a need for bold and courageous management.

The good manager is open, accessible, often adapts a low profile, and delegates. From day one he effectively starts to write his own demise.

He wants to leave the ship in a better condition than when he took it over, and most importantly wants successive captains to be able and equipped to address the challenges of the next generation.

The extent to which subsequent generations will look back positively on this period in the history of the nation will depend on decisions taken now.

An essential ingredient in the recipe for success must be the inclusion of exiles in the decision-making process.

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CSO: 3400/399

SOUTH AFRICA

**LABOR PARTY NATAL LEADER SAYS EMERGENCY IS JUSTIFIED**

Durban POST NATAL in English 6-9 Nov 85 p 7

[Article by Khalil Aniff]

[Text]

THE existence of a state of emergency in parts of the country was justified because innocent lives were being lost, the Natal leader of the Labour Party, Mr Albie Stowman, said this week.

He was reacting to criticism levelled at the party for screening a cassette recording of the unrest situation — especially in the Western Cape — at its Natal congress at Durban's Athlone Hotel last week.

This was shown shortly before the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, national leader of the party and chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, delivered the main address.

## **Gruesome details**

The 35-minute tape, shown to about 100 delegates, depicted gruesome details on the unrest — burning, looting and deaths — at Uitenhage, Guguletu, Duduza, Inanda and the University of Western Cape.

Solidarity's spokesman for Law and Order, Mr Mamoo Rajab, said it was "highly irregular" for a film cassette of the unrest situation, apparently taken by members of the South

African Police, to be used at the congress.

This was tantamount to "brainwashing" Mr Rajab said.

But Mr Stowman said after seeing the tape he was convinced that the Government should intensify the emergency because "many innocent lives" were being lost.

"Judging by the widespread unrest that has engulfed this country, I am of the opinion that the emergency should be extended to other parts of the country as well," he said.

Mr Stowman conceded that just one side of the story was shown. He said he was disappointed that parts of police action "to restore law and order" were not screened.

At the congress Reverend Hendrickse also defended the emergency. "It is regrettable that a state of emergency has had to be declared in the areas of Western Cape and the Peninsula, but I have no doubt that the escalation of violence and the growing fanaticism, damaging of property and lawlessness must have been the deciding factors."

Before Mr Hendrickse's arrival several delegates had intimated they were going to tackle him on the emergency issue but did not after the screening of the cassette.

/13104

CSO: 3400/402

SOUTH AFRICA

CLAMPDOWN ON PRESS COVERAGE OF UNREST CRITICIZED

Durban POST NATAL in English 6-9 Nov 85 p 14

[Article by Ameen Akhalwaya]

[Text]

**L**AST month, I wrote about the defective vision of those in power who can see only one side of story — theirs. Now that master of Natspeak, Pik Botha, has come up with a variation — "Tunnelvision".

Mr Botha was referring at the weekend to television coverage of the unrest. One had somehow hoped he was referring to his own SABC's coverage — or its lack, or one-sidedness — of the unrest.

No, the Minister was referring to the coverage by foreign TV crews, and defending the Government's ban on them.

Now I am the first to concede that the foreign media — in this case the Western media — are not the most impartial in their coverage of significant world events. Anyone who has studied the American media will tell you that at the drop of a hand grenade, they slink back into super-patriotic jingoism.

American media coverage of the Middle East, for example, is generally so blatantly one-sided in favour of Israel and against Iran, Muammar Gadaffi and the PLO that the Americans cannot pretend to be objective.

That doesn't in any way mean one supports their being banned from covering these areas. The solution is to try to break their dominance of world coverage.

This is, of course, easier said than done, given the high cost of news gathering.

Our government has the means to get its propaganda across. It has spent — and still spends — vast sums of money — our money — to give its side of the story.

Yet it has failed, for the simple reason that its actions often show up the hollowness of its stated intentions.

Having thus failed, it resorts to the cheap tactic of clobbering the Press.

Why?

The answer is obvious: It doesn't want the

world to see the ugly face of armed forces fighting civilians. The "Trojan Horse" incident in Cape Town, where armed forces emerged from the back of a railway truck to shoot at stone-throwing civilians disgusted anyone who watched it on TV abroad.

Now this incident, according to those who filmed it, was recorded purely by chance. If, as the Government claims, foreign journalists "stage" incidents, or happen to be tipped off about demos beforehand, how does it explain the "Trojan Horse" shooting?

Was the TV crew tipped off by the armed forces? Was it tipped off by those who were shot at?

Obviously not. Now the Government says TV crews can still go into unrest areas after obtaining official permission. But this means TV filming cannot be spontaneous.

It was said in this column when the state of emergency was declared in July that the ground was being prepared for a military dictatorship, and the banning of TV crews from unrest areas appears to be another step in that direction.

Beware when that happens. Take what happened to a group of journalists from *The Sowetan* last month.

They stopped at a watering hole after covering a news conference addressed by the Minister of Finance, Barend du Plessis.

According to the jour-

nalists — Len Maseko, Ali Mphaki, Robert Magwaza and Nkompane Makobane — they had permission to travel in Soweto during curfew hours.

Late at night, on their way home, they were stopped by "Security Forces". They say they were taken out of their cars, assaulted, made to lie face down in the back of a vehicle, trampled on, beaten with rifle butts, sworn at.

They also say they were forced to address the "Security Forces" as *my baas*.

And then, they say, a dog was set on them. *The Sowetan* published a picture of Mr Maseko displaying the bruises inflicted on him by the dog.

Now, if a group of high-profile journalists who have access to the media can be treated in such a fashion, what might be happening to other people who don't have such access?

I am not suggesting that such things are happening. They might be happening. That is the reaction of the person-in-the-street.

It is here where the ban on TV crews is so dangerous for the Government. When the media are pushed out of sight, rumours arise and these serve only to exacerbate the situation.

And it is not only the TV crews that are affected. The Government still has powers to seal off any area and stop the Press from going in. It has stopped them before, but some newspapers have often found ways around it.

It has stopped — or tried to stop — black journalists over the years. Especially in the 60s, it took strong action against black journalists, many of whom were detained, banned or jailed.

This process now seems to be continuing, but it won't deter the journalists.

The real fear, of course, is that having failed to deter black journalists, and with the ban on foreign TV crews likely to prove counter-productive, the Government will make further desperate efforts to curb the Press.

There are already rumours that it may introduce super-censors at newspapers to vet what they want to publish. Given the Government's track record, those rumours may not be far off target.

If they are proved to be true, stand by for the military dictatorship to go into operation. Then heaven help us all — not just the media representatives.

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CSO: 3400/402

SOUTH AFRICA

RAJAB, UDF CRITICIZE CLAMPDOWN OF UNREST COVERAGE

Durban POST NATAL in English 6-9 Nov 85 p 14

[Text]

**T**HE Government's imposition of a blackout on news coverage of the unrest in the country appeared to have been taken in an effort to stop unrest at any cost and cover up evidence of the methods it was using to do so, Solidarity said this week.

Solidarity's spokesman on Law and Order and Home Affairs, Mr Mahmoud Rajab, said the move — coupled with the extension of the indemnity against prosecution to cover security forces throughout South Africa — was a new and far more dangerous form of censorship than has been known before.

Mr Rajab said the effect of the clampdown would be to prevent people here and abroad from knowing the full truth of the South African situation.

"The freedom of the Press, limited and under threat as it has been, was one of the few positive facets of the Government's management of this country that enabled our foreign friends to argue on our behalf for more time to resolve our problems, and this step now most definitely is another nail in the coffin for South Africa," he said.

Mr Rajab said Press freedom was highly prized as a partial guarantee of human rights and was never tampered with in democratic societies.

"Now in South Africa, another Rubicon has been crossed. The police censor has been placed above the editor.

"Doubtless, there have been abuses of media freedom, but the Government has over reacted and thrown out the baby with the dirty water!"

Mr Rajab said Press censorship would not arrest what was happening in the country as the Press was not responsible for what was happening.

"It is high time that the Government realised this and appreciated the fact that it is necessary to deal with the real grievances of the people and not suppress reports of those grievances.

"The beleaguered Botha Administration appears to have taken a futile last ditch effort to stop unrest at any cost and cover up evidence of the methods

it is using to do so.

"This is sad because the next step would be for the once-reformist government believing it's own propaganda and silencing every dissenting voice."

The United Democratic Front's regional secretary, Mr Yunus Mohamed, said the UDF strongly condemned the clampdown.

"Using arbitrary and Draconian measures is not going to prevent the world from knowing the facts about South Africa," he said.

"The ban will result in the foreign public getting a picture which may not be entirely true and correct.

"We repeat that the only way to restore peace is to dismantle

**apartheid.**

"The Government should start by lifting the state of emergency, releasing all detainees and withdrawing the Defence Force from the townships."

Chairman of the Indian Ministers' Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, was contacted twice this week for comment, and promised to issue a statement to Post. At the time of going to Press, no statement was forthcoming.

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CSO: 3400/402

SOUTH AFRICA

WEST CAPE REAL ESTATE BOOM, SLUMP PRESSURES GROUP AREAS ACT

Cape Town WEEKEND ARGUS in English 26 Oct 85 p 3

[Article by Tom Hood]

**[Text] A PROPERTY boom in coloured areas and a simultaneous slump in white property sales is one of the strongest reasons for the abolition of the Group Areas Act, say estate agents operating in coloured suburbs.**

The belief in property circles is that reform commitments and political pressure will force the opening of residential districts in some metropolitan areas as a result of the boom-slump anomaly prevailing in the Western Cape.

"The question is when — it's no longer if," said a property developer.

Many coloured home-owners could easily afford to buy houses in better areas if they were allowed to, and supply and demand would lead to higher prices, says Mr Quentin Pavitt, a leading agent in the Grassy Park area.

"It wouldn't just benefit us or help to appease the radicals. It would stimulate the economy.

**Demand high**

Mr Pavitt, an office-bearer of the Institute of Estate Agents in Cape Town, said the unrest had not led to a fall-off in demand for property in coloured suburbs.

Other agents and building societies confirmed that the coloured property market was booming as more families were able to afford home loans and buy houses — most of them helped by subsidies — and this had brought an increase in developments.

In Mitchell's Plain the end of the pre-emptive period allowed people to sell their properties and scores were changing hands each month.

Mr Harry Lee Pan, managing director of another large estate agency, said rising prices in coloured suburbs were entirely due to the Group Areas Act.

But the prices were artificial. The Government proclaimed certain areas for coloured people and there were more people wanting good houses in those areas than there were houses available.

Recession and unrest, had a minor influence.

The boom has encouraged major house builders such as Bellandia and Disa Homes to switch most of their plot-and-plan work to Mitchell's Plain, Elsies River, Belhar, Southdene and other coloured areas.

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CSO: 3400/402

SOUTH AFRICA

INANDA FAMILIES ALLOCATED HOMES

Durban POST NATAL in English 6-9 Nov 85 p 6

[Article by Khalil Aniff]

[Text]

ALL the Inanda refugees who were temporarily housed at a school in Verulam have been allocated homes, Mr Baldeo Dookie, Minister of Local Government and Housing in the House of Delegates, said this week.

He said a total of 191 families were housed at the school and the last six families were due to be allocated homes within the week.

According to Mr Dookie, all families will have to vacate the school by November 30 so it can be prepared for the 1986 school term.

Priority is also being given now to rehouse the 1 055 families, all victims of the Inanda unrest, who have been staying with families and friends since their homes were destroyed and their belongings looted.

"Our first priority was to allocate homes to

those who were staying at the school and now that this task is complete, we are concentrating on allocating homes for the other families who have been staying elsewhere."

Mr Dookie said every cent of the R28-million allocated to rehouse the refugees would be used to rehouse the 1 246 families.

He said the cost of building each home was between R15 000 and R20 000. This included the cost of land and the laying on of services.

"Much criticism has been levelled against me and my department for the manner in which the refugees' plight was being handled. But I had to negotiate with the City Council to release the

homes they had built for others on the waiting list so they could be allocated to the Inanda people. The Council agreed to release to us the 1 246 homes on a priority basis and we agreed to pay them the estimated R28-million cost price so we could expedite the housing needs.

"The Council, meanwhile, has a backlog of some 18 000 on its waiting list and they have now agreed to rehouse the Inanda people before attention is turned to those on the waiting list," he said.

Meanwhile Mr Dookie emphasised that those refugees who were unable to afford deposits would be given homes as tenants. "They will pay no deposit, but those who have an income will be treated like any other housing applicant," he said.

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CSO: 3400/403

SOUTH AFRICA

TWO FAMILIES GIVE OPINION FOR LEAVING, STAYING

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 21 Oct 85 p 12

[Article by Melanie Gosling]

[Text]

MIKE and Lindsay van Niekerk are South African-born and raised. They've never lived anywhere else.

Their friends are here, their families are here. They went to school, university and worked here. But in two weeks' time they are leaving for good - emigrating to Australia.

"Emigration has become one of the main topics of discussion at dinner parties. They ask is it because of the political situation or the economy?

"But really, for us there is no single answer — there are a whole lot of reasons why we're going. Not the least of them is that we feel it is time for a change, time to live and work somewhere new and different."

Mike is 30, a journalist, and has been working in public relations for the past 18 months. And hating it. He is from Cape Town originally and came to Johannesburg only because he could get a better job.

Lindsay is 28, and works in television production. She came to Johannesburg from Cape Town after she left school. They have been married for two years.

Mike: "On the one hand politics does have a lot to do with it. There is a sense of impending doom hanging over this country, politically and economically, which most whites feel and which you can't ignore.

"But the fact that we're going during the state of emergency is just coincidence really. I had a job offer before that and we had decided to go months ago. But the closer we get to leaving the more we realise just how much things are falling apart in this country."

Lindsay: "We want to have kids, but there is no way I would consider having children in South Africa. I wouldn't want to bring up a family in an environment of bitterness and lack of trust."

And then there's money. Mike will be getting a higher salary in Australia and according to his information, will be able to buy a house in Perth for a third of what it would cost in Johannesburg. And Australia has one of the highest economic growth rates in the world, he says.

Jobs will be more exciting too. "I want to work in journalism, not in PR, but the newspaper industry in South Africa is falling apart."

Lindsay has not got a job secured yet but believes she will have no problem getting one. "The Aussie film industry is one of the most exciting and progressive in the world."

What will they miss about South Africa, what will they lose by leaving?

Mike: "We're not your typical northern suburbs type, so materially we have little to lose. As far as my lifestyle in Jo'burg goes, I will miss nothing. I can't relate to Jo'burg at all. I will miss Cape Town. I'll miss hiking in the mountains and the fynbos. In a way I'll miss the feeling of being directly part of what is happening here."

Lindsay: "I won't miss South Africa. I'm not wildly patriotic; nor do I feel I have strong roots in Africa. Yet I will miss South Africans. There's a familiarity about them, a common understanding among them that I will miss. In Australia I will be among a completely different tribe of people altogether."

But the Van Niekerks are not totally rosy-eyed about Australia.

Mike: "We've done a lot of reading about Aussie and don't have any illusions about the place. There are things we won't like — there is apparently a lot of racism there too. There is also a particular type of macho ethos among Australian males that would make most feminists freak and which I regard as rather daunting. However, hopefully in the urban environment we will be in, sexism won't be as strong as it is in the rural areas."

How did family and friends react when they said they were leaving?

Mike: "My mother was terribly upset. She thinks she's never going to see us again." He grins. "I try to point out that the first Van Niekerk who came to South Africa in 1651 also had to leave home — a sort of 300-year package holiday. Now I'm doing the same — setting off to live somewhere new, somewhere different."

The reaction of friends has been critical. "Our more right-wing friends — the kind who see you as part of the 'chicken run' — almost consider us traitors because we're leaving. Why? I think the feeling that because you are born in one place you should be tied down to it forever is ridiculous. But then our left-wing friends have also been snotty. They say we've taken a lot out of this country so we should stick around and put something back. That's probably true, but there's not much we can do."

"We're not politically involved. But that doesn't mean we're not politically concerned. In fact I would say we are more politically informed than are most South Africans. But I just believe there is little we as white liberals can do to hasten political change. That is in the hands of the people it affects most, not us."

### **Lawson Leslie, South African businessman, husband and father of two, tells why the family is staying.**

WE HAVE sat around the dinner tables, lounges, patios endlessly, all talking about the same problems.

"Where do we go? — United States, South America, back into black Africa?"

Discussions which become frustrating, boring and depressing. Never any conclusions. Questions always left unanswered.

With a young family I recently moved back to Durban from Johannesburg. We sold our home and the business in which I was involved. Now we are a prime target market for all the advertisements on "Emigrating to the United States the easy way" or "Start a new life in Santa Cruz, Bolivia".

It's not that our money has little value overseas right now, nor the dilemma of where to stay. We believe South Africa is our home. South Africa is where we are known, where we belong, where we feel part of; where we would like to build a future for ourselves.

And then the time came to use our hearts to make THE decision — to go or to stay.

We have reached this decision after writing down all the cold, logical possibilities and opportunities.

To help the decision-making, I suggested we travel to other countries to explore possible locations. But Renee, my wife, expressed it for both of us: "I don't want to go anywhere. My roots are here. I am an African. For good or bad. All countries, cities, towns and suburbs have their problems. Why go a long way, somewhere else, only to inherit their new, different problems? At least here we know what the problems are!"

Once you decide to stay it makes living a lot easier. The pressure is off. We feel more settled. We face the future with a positive confidence rather than living in limbo and waiting — with suitcases and books half-packed... waiting for something to happen.

We do feel guilty. For 20 years we have been the great white, English-speaking liberals who knew it all... and did nothing. We would like to live in a just society where there are opportunities for all. Living in a multiracial society for us will be OK. As a family we have, together with staying, committed ourselves to playing an active and constructive role in making this a better place for all of us.

To make this decision we went through many stages and individual changes of view. First Renee was strong on staying — I was for going. The next day, vice versa. All views fluctuating with dinner parties; with rioting becoming common place on TV; with Press articles on police brutality; and with President Botha's speech.

Also affecting our daily views and high on the "conflict" list were our children and our security. What about the children? Two boys, three and five. They are of a perfect age to inherit a new country. But as parents, we would have had to accept the burden of living in a foreign country. We would have had to give up our family, friends and country.

But we don't want our children to be brought up in America, Germany or England. We'd rather they are brought up in South Africa as Africans.

Should we take them away to a new country and spare them the harshness and danger of fighting? Maybe, yet these and other realities will be part of their growing up; no matter where they are. Why run to new areas of fighting? We might never stop running!

As a family, our lifestyle does not include heavy security. Our doors and windows are always unlocked and open. We will have to change. I'm not a fighter and fear the prospect of bloodshed. We'll have to take things as they come and do something about them.

What will our way of life be in five years? It will have changed; we will have to accept changes. We as whites won't have all the say; hopefully we will have some.

Some blacks will carry resentment about us for a long time. We can't blame them. We, as a family, feel we owe it to blacks to say firstly, sorry. We should have talked louder, acted and become more involved earlier.

Secondly, watch us, give us a chance. We feel sure many, many people in SA feel sincerely committed to one South Africa, where we all have a place in the sun.

My writing is jumbled, as if with no planning. This is exactly how we and many others have gone through or are going through the crises to make THE decision. We now feel good about the decision we have made. It's behind us. We live for the present and the future, with our heritage and past as our roots.

We are confident and excited about the next five, 10 and 20 years. We're currently in the process of buying both a business and a home. With the children growing up we believe we'll have a lot of fun in South Africa.

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CSO: 3400/403

SOUTH AFRICA

TRANSKEI BANISHES SIX FORMER DETAINEES

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 8 Nov 85 p 2

[Text] **SIX prominent Transkei figures, all closely associated with a recently murdered political activist, have been banished to remote areas of the homeland. One of the six is a prominent lawyer in the area and specialises in political trials.**

The six are: Mr Dumisa Ntsebeza, the lawyer based in Umtata; Mr Lungisile Ntsebeza, his younger brother and a prominent businessman in Cala; Mr Monde Mzimbi; Mr Meluxolo Silinga; Mr Zingisa Mkhabile and Mr Victor Ngaleka. All were released from detention a week ago.

Their detention follows the political assassination of Mr Bathandwa Ndondo, who was killed last month by men travelling in a kombi shortly after they had taken him, claiming to be security policemen.

Several sources in the Transkei claim the men are policemen but the Government has not confirmed this. Instead the Government has announced that a murder

charge is being investigated.

The six were closely linked to the dead man. The Ntsebezases were his cousins.

Mr Ntsebeza (the lawyer) yesterday said he was detained shortly after issuing a Press statement that the five others had been detained because they were potential witnesses in the trial.

"Since my detention on October 8 to October 31 I was never interrogated. A policeman who had come to me told me they were not interrogating me because they knew there was nothing to ask me about. He said they were acting on orders from above.

"When released on October 31 it was not because of the goodness of their hearts, but my

wife had brought an urgent application to the Supreme Court. They then released me and have accepted payment of the costs," he said.

According to Mr Ntsebeza one of the policemen was heard telephoning a major in Umtata and said words to the effect that a Mose had fired three of the shots.

A lieutenant in Cala, where the shooting took place, also told the younger Mr Ntsebeza that the police knew who had killed Mr Ndondo.

Mr Ngaleka, is also reported to have seen two of the people who had shot Mr Ndondo. One had his shirt soaked in blood while the kombi used was full of blood.

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CSO: 3400/403

SOUTH AFRICA

**TRANSKEI POLICE FREES UDF NATAL CHAIRMAN**

**Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 1 Nov 85 p 16**

[Text] THE Natal chairman of the United Democratic Front, the Rev Mcebisi Xundu, was released from detention in the Transkei this week.

But the UDF in Durban, which has been in organisational disarray since the Government clamped down on them, will not be able to draw on Mr Xundu's resources and will have to elect a new chairman because he has been transferred to Port Elizabeth.

Mr Xundu was detained by the Transkei security police a few days after he was released from five weeks' detention at the hands of the Durban Security Police.

Shortly after his re-detention he was admitted to hospital in the Transkei and remained

there until Monday night, when he was discharged from hospital.

**Lawyers**

Lawyers had prepared papers for an application by the Anglican Church to the Transkei Supreme Court to have Mr Xundu's detention order declared invalid, but he was released from detention before the case could be heard.

Mr Neville Greenham, Natal diocesan secretary of The Anglican Church, confirmed Mr Xundu's release from detention.

Mr Xundu has been the Anglican parish priest in Durban's Lamontville township for about four years, but during his detention he was transferred to the diocese of Port Elizabeth where he will be a hospital chaplain.

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CSO: 3400/392

SOUTH AFRICA

AID PROGRAMS FOR CISKEI VILLAGES UNDERWAY

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 29 Oct 85 p 31

[Article by Jo-Anne Richards]

[Text]

To villagers near Keiskammahoek in Ciskei a "Gift" from the north has brought them a real chance of survival.

Mrs Glendyr Lorentz, or "Gift" as she has become known to her Xhosa neighbours, is originally from Johannesburg. But, unlike many of her former townsfolk who think Ciskei is the back of beyond, she finds its possibilities immensely exciting and satisfying.

Married to a farm manager, Mrs Lorentz was initially struck by the "desperate poverty I saw there — the wasted malnourished children with dull, sunken eyes".

Working through social structures, she set out to discover the villagers' greatest needs. They expressed desperate needs for easily reached water, enough food, work close to home, development of skills for small businesses and home industries and education for their children and themselves.

"My particular interest was in starting a pre-

school programme," she said. "After six months we could show community leaders and mothers an enormous change in the children. After that, many villages asked for help in starting schools and 45 are now serving 2 000 children."

Each village provides a building and eating implements. Mrs Lorentz arranges for selected teachers to be trained and given ideas on what can be done with very little.

"As an example, we make much use of cardboard boxes. You see, boxes can be houses, stoves, beds or tables to children."

Food is provided by Operation Hunger and prepared by mothers. Healthy food and early stimulation, says Mrs Lorentz, have given them a big start in life.

"Once we were brought a three-year-old who couldn't walk, talk or even smile. She would sit quietly with sunken eyes, still using a nappy. Six months later, she was still small but she could walk, talk, run and play."

By providing adults with training in knitting, weaving and leather work, Mrs Lorentz was instrumental in starting home industries and small businesses in many villages.

Others businesses, such as coffin-making and carpentry and small-scale chicken-farming, are being organised.

Community vegetable gardening was another of the villagers' ideas to be fuelled by the expertise she provided.

"If I can't provide the skills they ask for, I bring in someone who can," she said.

Malnutrition and another scourge of the area, TB, can be diagnosed early as most children are now continually checked.

"Lay health workers from the community visit each house to pick up problems of health, poverty or family planning.

"Our health workers once discovered a TB sufferer with an unemployed wife, who couldn't afford the bus to the hospital. His children went to school hungry each day."

"They were able to collect his medicine each week and assist his wife in joining a home industries group. In her first month she made R37,50, a great improvement."

Mrs Lorentz is immensely optimistic about what is being done in Ciskei.

"We can provide the expertise to make villages self-sufficient to some extent. The children have a better start in life and no-one starves.

"I love the work. It can be so satisfying to see big changes in a community."

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SOUTH AFRICA

EAST LONDON DRYDOCK READY FOR SHIPPING AGAIN

Port Elizabeth EVENING POST in English 25 Oct 85 p 20

[Article by George Young]

[Text]

IF required, the East London drydock, thanks to the construction of a caisson, can be used for shipping again.

The floating dock, employed in Buffalo harbour while the drydock was unserviceable, is destined for employment at Richards Bay, thereby saving tugs the passage to Durban each time underwater attention is required.

South African drydocks are an essential piece of equipment for international shipping, but they do not assure profit. Like a city hospital, they constitute an essential facility for the use of clients, and the ports would be inadequate without them.

Durban's big dock remains the busiest on the coast, it being situated at a terminal port. Princess Elizabeth Dock at East London was intended as an overflow dock for the Durban facility, and like all other drydocks on the coast it was erected as a wartime necessity, but has never paid its way.

The big Cape Town dock was built in the Second World War ostensibly to cater for the "Queen"

liners, and the big aircraft carriers shut out of the Durban dock which had been built in the First World War for battleships.

SATS has tried to interest shipyards in a proposal for their taking over the drydocks — which run at a permanent deficit — but the terms offered by the Government were unacceptable to private enterprise, which would still have to accept the decisions of the respective port captains as to which ships used the dock. And the Administration craft had to be given priority.

Unfortunately, the evolution in ship design has put the South African drydocks at a disadvantage, for whereas they were designed for liners and warships which are long and lean, the modern bulkers and tankers are extremely wide and this country cannot drydock a vessel of more than about 130 000 tons dw.

However, there have been few cases of larger ships being embarrassed by not being able to use a local facility. A foreign tanker which had been employed for charter on the coast was found at the

last minute to be about 50mm too wide to enter

the Cape Town dry-dock for refit, and had to wait until she got to Singapore.

Drydocks all over the world are now suffering trauma, not only because there are fewer clients, but the availability of anti-fouling — which requires big ships to dry-dock only once in five years instead of annually — seriously reduced income.

There were other schemes, during the short-lived giant tanker era, to erect more drydocks along the seaboard, but these fortunately were pigeonholed when it proved obvious there was not sufficient revenue.

Lisbon, Singapore and Persian Gulf depots are complaining about the unemployed facilities, and formidable losses when account is taken of the building cost of a giant drydock.

### Tug damaged

DURING the determined attempt two months ago to tow the laden bulker Kapodistrias off Thunderbolt Reef there was nearly another casualty when

the big tug John Ross touched the bottom while straining at the end of her tow rope.

Two tugs battled both the elements and the grip of the rock on the stricken ship in their final attempt to release her, and thumps were heard at the after end of the John Ross.

Inspection in drydock has now revealed that all four propeller blades were nicked, and the nozzle surrounding the propeller was dented in two places.

Engineers and surveyors who inspected the damage expressed their wonder at the fact the big tug escaped with so little damage, for had she come down hard on the reef, the rudders and propeller would have been smashed, and the tug cast ashore in the wild weather.

It was a near miss for the tug, which cost about R10 million to build in Durban 10 years ago.

Staff of the other tug, Causeway Adventurer, confirmed that conditions were particularly bad on the final night that tugs tried to retrieve the Kapodistrias, and with bow thrusters at full output to keep the tugs' bows to wind, and main engines straining, the laden bulker moved through a

few degrees, then had to be abandoned when a pinnacle punctured the engine room, which became flooded.

Tugs, by the nature of their work, have to take calculated risks in the interest of recovering distressed ships. Complete repairs have already been effected.

The sister tug Wolraad Woltemade, when trying to retrieve a drifting tanker blowing ashore near Cape Town a few years ago, also sustained bottom damage which fortunately flooded a tank, instead of flowing into the engine room and disabling the tug.

The same tug also touched bottom in the course of an operation in the West Indies.

### Sea hijacking

HOW vulnerable are ships to hijacking?

The experience of the Italian liner Achille Lauro in the eastern Mediterranean when she was effectively hijacked by six men vindicated the warning issued to owners by the International Transport Workers' Federation (ITF) that passenger ships, especially those in the Middle East, were in danger of being hijacked.

The ITF is now agitating for a convention to

control the new problem.

Unlike an aircraft, where a hijacker can commandeer the machine by taking control of the pilot's cabin, a ship, because of its bigger crew and many departments, is a much more difficult assignment for those unacquainted with the layout of the vessel.

In the case of the Achille Lauro, the hijackers apparently went immediately to the bridge and news of the takeover was immediately sent ashore by radio.

### Lost cargoes

FRAUD on the high seas continues to alarm underwriters who are called upon to meet claims for entire cargoes which leave port and are never seen again.

Last week the insurers had good news when a small ship, Dee Lee, was found in Thailand after disappearing from Bangkok in August with 4 500 tons of maize.

But when found, the Dee Lee was empty, and had been renamed Alfonso.

Maritime authorities in the Far East had been searching for the Dee Lee after she had sailed out of Bangkok without pilot or customs clearance.

It is assumed the cargo was sold somewhere else, and crew members said it had been discharged at Singapore.

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CSO: 3400/393

SOUTH AFRICA

DEATH RATE DROPS SINCE DECLARATION OF EMERGENCY

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 5 Nov 85 p 16

[Text]

THE death rate in political violence has been drastically reduced in the Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage area and on the East Rand since the emergency was declared on 21st July, the South African Institute of Race Relations said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Natal and the Western Cape had replaced PE/Uitenhage and the East Rand as the epicentres of political violence, the institute said. There is no emergency in Natal, while the Western Cape was placed under emergency regulations on October 26.

The institute said that the death rate in PE/Uitenhage had been cut from an average of 0,56 per day in the pre-emergency period to 0,16 per day after the emergency. On the East Rand it had declined from 0,47 to 0,17.

Country-wide, the death rate in political violence has more than doubled since the emergency was declared, according to the institute. Deaths from all causes (including accidental deaths and unknown causes) have increased from an average of 1,66 per day to 3,41 per day.

The institute said that the total number of fatalities in the 14 months since the violence erupted in the Vaal Triangle at the beginning of September last year was 834. This compared with a figure of 700 in the sixteen months after Soweto erupted in June 1976.

The institute said that security forces accounted for 53 percent of all fatalities, and clashes between residents for 29 percent.

According to the institute's latest race relations survey, released in Johannesburg, conflict within the Black community has become increasingly common. At least 30 petrol bomb attacks occurred against Black town councillors last year. In the Vaal Triangle four councillors were killed by enraged crowds during protests against rent increases.

A spokesman for the institute said that Black political activists had appeared to switch their strategy during the course of the disturbances: Stay-aways from work — such as that in November 1984 — had been replaced by consumer boycotts, notably in the Eastern Cape.

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COMMENTATOR SEES INCREASING MUSLIM YOUTH VIOLENCE IN CAPE

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 28 Oct 85 p 7

[Commentary by Aggrey Klaaste in "On the Line" column]

[Text]

THEY say the Muslim youths in the Cape Peninsula are speaking of the Jihad — the declaration of a Holy War. They also say some of these youths are armed and only the love of Allah has stopped them from engulfing this lovely landscape, smelling of fragrant sea-breezes.

Allah, being God, also has a wry sense of humour. Not many years ago, some of these youths painted their faces with gaudy grease and pranced along the sea-side promenade as "Coons". They were regarded with tolerant fondness by white tourists and others, as they drank deep from the wine bottles, and played their Banjoes, without a seeming care in the world.

I also chanced to write a rather whimsi-

cal piece about this place, called the Cape of Good Hope by one Jan van Riebeeck in 1652. The man must be turning in his grave, for this breath-stoppingly beautiful piece of God's land is being turned into the Cape of Storms.

My knowledge of Cape Town and its environs is somewhat sketchy. All I know is there is Table Mountain, brooding in all painful wisdom on the antics of these crazy mortals below.

I also know that there are the buildings of Parliament, wherein kin to those self-same Muslim warriors, are sitting to chart the laws of this country. I also know that not far from Table Mountain, there is a desolate island, whipped rather fiercely by winds, on which many sons of this beloved land have spent their entire

adulthood — Robben Island.

Finally I know there are lashes of swift and twisting winds that strike the Cape Peninsula, with almost incredible speed. Then lie down. I know you sometimes have to hang onto a pole, a tree, so strong are these winds, whatever the fundis call them. When they go, there is perhaps a sudden gust of rain and you can almost lick the salt from the sea on your face. Such a wonderful land.

When the people of colour finally got the message and stopped turning themselves into "Coons" for the white man's pleasure and conscience — they grew up. Not only that, for in 1984, struck to conversion of a most diabolically shrewd nature, the Government turned these "skollies", if they will excuse me the sarcasm, into fully-fledged "citizens".

They got the vote. They got men sitting cheek by jowl with other men, making the apartheid laws look, sound sweeter. Then later, much later, they got rid of the Immorality Act. A law that had turned thousands of coloureds and some whites, into dreadful caricatures of humiliation. To have sex with somebody of colour used to be a crime. The act of making people like coloureds was called miscegenation. How can you blame those Muslim youths for such terrible anger?

In case you might not know, the Jihad is the type of act that sent thousands of screaming hysterical Iranians out to get Shah of Iran — to topple that system. It was this Holy War that held America hostage for more than a year in Iran. It is this furious, fundamentalist holy anger that is turning the Middle East into another version of Hell.

### Ancient

I don't quite know why the anger is so great now. Maybe I am fooling myself.

I am adult enough and perhaps even sensitive enough to know that if a proud people, with an ancient civilisation, is made to cower and scrape the

floor before other people for more than 300 years, they get tired. They do not get tired very quickly these people, for their communities are close-knit, perfectly organised. They have a culture they maintain through all the ages. They also have holy anger, when it ignites.

I am a product of my own particular world. I think in terms of colour, race and creed to my dismay. I had never even imagined that the climax, or rather part of the climax to the drama of South Africa may have coloured people, Muslims and others as its chief actors. I tend to think in terms of black and white. Black to me, alas, means my African kith and kin.

I had forgotten that there are other races, just as desperately unhappy about their lot than the people of Crossroads. My fierce feeling had been that the tragedy of Crossroads will inevitably lead to immense sorrow. I got my racial fix completely mixed up. I am ashamed to say these things. I had also fondly imagined that there were degrees of apartheid. That for certain people, the pill was made sweeter because they were brown.

So that I have a rather close affinity with what the forces at work in places like

Crossroads are doing to black people. We have had somewhat superficial treatment of the situation in a place like Crossroads — which should have been a paradise for the news gatherer.

I also know how Africans have suffered from petty laws like the pass regulations in the Cape. I know how the vans used to race along streets, with cops flinging themselves after desperate men and women, when the dreaded vans hit the streets.

Perhaps the birds have at last come to roost. And come to roost in this marvelous area where the history of South Africa actually started. It would make me feel good if things came to an amicable end in the Cape Peninsula. There must be people out there who would like to see something fresh spring from the chaos.

The greatest burden lies on the head of the descendants of Jan van Riebeeck. If that guy had not turned up on that stormy day in 1652, we blacks and our kin, the Koisan and Khokhoi, would perhaps still be doing one peaceful pastoral thing, far removed from the slings and arrows of western civilisation.

SOUTH AFRICA

LIST OF WESTERN CAPE ORGANIZATIONS BANNED

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 29 Oct 85 p 5

[Text]

**IN SWEEPING new regulations announced by the South African Police at the weekend, meetings of 102 anti-apartheid organisations in the Western Cape and Boland have been banned, and tough measures have been adopted to combat the boycott of schools in the black and coloured townships.**

The measures came as fears grew that a major crackdown on opposition newspapers and foreign correspondents operating particularly in Western Cape are imminent.

The ban on meetings affects virtually every United Democratic Front and National Forum affiliated organisation, including the UDF itself, the ad hoc detention committee, Azapo, Azaso, Cape Action League, Cape Youth Congress, Cahac, Detainees Parents Support Committee, End Conscription Campaign,

Federation of South African Women, National Forum Committee, National Union of South Africa Students (Nusas), New Unity Movement, Parents Action Committee, Release Mandela Committee, Sacos, South African Youth Revolutionary Council, Students Union for Christian Action, UWO, Western Cape Civic Association and Wectu.

The 102 organisations may only hold or advertise meetings with the permission of the Divisional Commissioner of Police in the Western Cape and Boland.

The orders, by the Divisional Commissioner of Police, Brigadier C A Swart, were gazetted at the weekend, under the emergency regulations.

The organisations in the Western Cape whose meetings are banned are:

Ad Hoc Detention Action Committee  
Athlone Student Action Committee  
Azanian National Youth Unity  
Azanian Peoples Organisation  
Azanian Students Movement  
Azanian Students Organisation

Avondale Tenants Association  
Belhar Civic Association  
Bellville Civic Association  
Bellville South Housing Action Committee  
Bonteheuwel Civic Association  
Call of Islam  
Cape Action League  
Cape Youth Congress  
Cape Areas Housing Action Committee  
Civic Association of Bellville  
Concerned Parents, Students, Teachers and Residents  
Conscription Action Group  
Consumer Boycott Action Committee  
Consumer Support Committee  
Crossroads Co-ordinating Committee  
Detainees Concerned Committee  
Detainees Parents Support Committee  
Ecumenical Action Movement  
End Conscription Committee  
Federation of South African Women  
Gleemor and Cape Flats Civic Association  
Grassy Park Ratepayers Association  
Grassy Park/Lotus River Residents Association  
Hanover Park Civic Association  
Heathfield Ratepayers Association  
Heldevald/Vanguard Civic Association  
Houtbay Action Committee  
Inter Church Youth  
Inter Regional Forum  
Joint Council of Teachers Association  
Joint Students Representative Council  
Kensington/Facetron Ratepayers and Tenants Association  
Kewtown Residents Association  
Kraalfontein Civic Association  
Kuilsrivier Burgerlike Vereeniging  
Kuilsrivier Civic Association  
Lansdowne Ratepayers and Tenants Society  
Lavender Hill Residents Association  
Lotus River Ottley Grassy Park Student Action Committee  
Mitchells Plain Co-ordinating Committee  
Modderdam Civic Association  
Mowbray Interrace Group  
Muslim Against Oppression  
Muslim Youth Movement

**Muslim Students Association of South Africa**  
**National Forum Committee**  
**National Union of South African Students**  
**National Council of Women of South Africa**  
**National Youth Organisation**  
**New Unity Movement**  
**Parents Action Committee**  
**Parents Concern Committee**  
**Parent Teacher and Student Association**  
**Pupils Action Awareness Group**  
**Ravensmead Residents Action Committee**  
**Release Mandela Committee**  
**Retreat (Ward 17) Ratepayers and Tenants Association**  
**Rocklands Ratepayers Association**  
**Schotsekoof Civic Association**  
**Steenber/Retreat Housing Action Committee**  
**Silvertown Residents Association**  
**South African Council of Sports**  
**South African Youth Revolutionary Council**  
**Steenberg Housing Committee**  
**Steenberg Retreat Education Action Movement**  
**Students of Young Azania**  
**Student Action Committee**  
**Students Union for Christian Action**  
**South Peninsula Educational Fellowship**  
**Social Issues Group**  
**Thornhill Residents Association**  
**United Democratic Front**  
**United Women's Organisation**  
**Valhalla Park Tenants Association**  
**Voluntary Action Committee**  
**Western Cape Civic Association**  
**Western Cape Students Union**  
**Western Province Council of Sports**  
**Westridge Action Committee**  
**Woodlands Ratepayers Association**  
**Woodlands Action Committee**  
**Women's Front Organisation**  
**Women's Movement for Peace**  
**Young Christian Workers**

The organisations affected by the banning in the Boland area are:

Azanian National Youth Unity  
Azanian Peoples Organisation  
Azanian Students Organisation  
Boland Students Action Committee  
Cape Action League  
Cape Youth Congress  
Mbekweni Research Committee  
Mbekweni Residents Association  
National Forum Committee  
Paarl Municipale Huurders Vereeniging  
Paarl Students Association  
Paarl Teachers Inter Action Committee  
Paarl Youth Movement  
Qibla  
United Democratic Front  
United Women's Organisation  
Western Cape Civic Association  
Western Cape Teachers Union  
Worcester Students Action Committee --- Sapa.

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SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

TWO GROUPS COMMEND EDITOR--The Western Cape Trader's Association and the Chamber of Muslim Meat Traders yesterday issued a joint statement commending Mr A H Heard, editor of the Cape Times, for publishing an interview with the ANC leader, Mr Oliver Tambo. The statement described the interview as "educational and elucidating" and continued "However, we are perturbed at the impending State action against Mr Heard. Commtra and WCTA therefore urge oppressed people of the land to support those who align themselves with us by buying the paper which is in keeping with the times." [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Nov 85 p 5] /13104

CSO: 3400/392

TANZANIA

BRIEFS

SWEDISH EDUCATION AID--The Swedish International Development Agency [SIDA] will give Tanzania 460 million shillings in the next 5 years for the expansion of educational facilities under an agreement reached in Dar es Salaam today between the SIDA representative in Tanzania and the principal secretary in the Ministry of Education. [Summary] [Dar es Salaam Domestic Service in Swahili 1700 GMT 25 Oct 85]

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UGANDA

#### MUSAVERI'S PROPOSALS OUTLINED

EA301239 Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 30 Oct 85 p 1

[Report by Paul Muoho, Gideon Mulaki, and Chris Musyoka headlined "Musaveri Spells out His Conditions"]

[Excerpts] The chairman of Uganda's ruling Military Council, General Tito Okello, who is also the head of state, yesterday met for the first time with the leader of the National Resistance Movement for the peace talks.

Before the historic 3-hour meeting under the chairmanship of President Moi the NRA [National Resistance Army] issued a statement setting out terms on which they would accept a cease-fire.

Addressing the press after the adjournment at 9:30 pm of yesterday's meeting, Kenya's minister for foreign affairs, Mr Elijah Mwangale, said the talks were progressing well. "President Moi has chaired a meeting between the Ugandan head of state, Gen Tito Okello, and the chairman of the National Resistance Movement (NRM), Mr Yoweri Museveni," he said, adding that the talks would resume this morning at 10 am. In response to the Military Council's peace terms on Monday [28 October] the NRM said it was willing to observe an immediate cease-fire as long as the talks last, but only under stringent conditions.

The conditions were:

A cease-fire should not change the de facto position on the ground.

It should not mean opening roads, removing mines, etc.

It should be limited only to the actual fighting.

All facts of murder, rape, robbery, harassment and other acts of violation of human rights should stop immediately.

The proposals were made in a statement signed by the NRM's external co-ordinator, Dr S. M. B. Kisekka, who said the aim was to provide "a suitable atmosphere" for the talks. The NRM accepted the proposal that

Gen Tito Okello continue as chairman of the Military Council and as head of state. It also accepted seven seats in the Council, but only as long as the Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA)--the government army--has the same number of seats. There should be only two other seats, one for the Uganda Freedom Movement (UFM), and the other for the Uganda National Redemption [as received] Front (UNRF), it said.

During the previous round of talks 3 weeks ago, the NRM accepted representation by UFM and UNRF, the Federal Democratic Movement (FEDEMU) and possibly FUNA by one person each, but on condition that the latter rid its leadership of former officers in Idi Amin's army. The understanding at that time was that all fighting groups had laid down their arms and were neutral, as the NRM and the UNLA were the only ones harbouring hostilities.

But in its statement yesterday the NRM said: "Unfortunately, since the third round of talks, a completely new situation has been created by these groups taking up arms and actively fighting against the NRA. This action on the part of these groups has effectively turned them into enemies of the NRM. The result is that the de facto position in Uganda today is that there are two belligerents in the field, namely, the NRA on one hand, and the military junta supported by and allied with FUNA, FEDEMU, UFM and UNRF. Therefore, the fighting groups have forfeited their privileges of being represented on the Military Council as separate entities, and the NRM should jointly form a Military Council consisting initially of seven NRA members and seven junta members under the chairmanship of General Tito Okello as head of state."

It proposed: "The Joint Military Council thus formed would thereafter consider co-opting any person from those groups who can usefully serve on the Military Council."

The NRM statement also proposed a new broadly based national army but it reiterated that to achieve meaningful and genuine peace, complete disarmament was unnecessary. It proposed "a nucleus" consisting of an equal number of "carefully selected" officers and men from the NRM and the government, and integrating them under the supervision of friendly countries. Mr Museveni's group proposed that "friendly countries"--Kenya, Tanzania, Australia, or Canada--should be asked to send observers for that exercise. The NRM emphasised that the "observers" would only monitor, observe and train the new army. "We do not believe that foreign peace-keeping forces can be effective, as history has amply shown," it said. "Moreover, such foreign peace-keeping forces would impinge on the sovereignty of our country."

Dr Kisekka said the "nucleus army" would be armed, but other officers and men from the NRA, the government, all other fighting groups and security forces would be disarmed, placed in specified assembly centres, awaiting their absorption into the new army or into other security organs, or a return to civilian life. "This process will be continued, each side contributing in equal numbers at every stage, until the required size of the army."

However, officers who served under dictator Idi Amin "shall not be eligible for absorption" into the new army unless they are necessary to fill places and they have been carefully screened and vetted, it emphasized.

It reiterated that all the decrees made by the Military Council since the civilian government of Dr Milton Obote was overthrown last 27 July "be reviewed as a top priority."

It also said all appointments and promotions by the Military Council between then and the date of the agreement now being sought "shall be nullified."

The "NRM still believes that the political parties that participated in Uganda's 1980 general election--the Democratic Party (DP), the Uganda People Congress (UPC), the Uganda Popular Movement (UPM) and the Conservate Party (CP)--should be represented on the council by one member."

Earlier, President Moi called on the delegates to change their hearts and to come out with a peaceful solution without wasting time. Talking to newsmen at the close of the morning session with one of the delegates, the president confirmed that the talks proper had not yet begun. Asked what was causing the delay, the president said: "The delegates have been studying their papers." He added: "The most important thing now is how prepared they are to change their hearts."

As we went to press the government delegation expressed "great disappointment" at the NRM proposals, reports Chris Musyoka.

The Military Council vice-chairman, Col Gad Toko, who is minister for defence, said the NRM "is not genuine and realistic by excluding the representative of FUNA on the Military Council and questioning the credentials of the other fighting forces."

Col Toko said in a statement that since the 27 July coup, and with the return of former Uganda soldiers from the Sudan and Zaire, the NRA "was consistently orchestrated a campaign to cause Ugandans and the world to believe that these people are not Ugandans but people from southern Sudan (Anyanya) who should have no say in the affairs of Uganda. The Ugandan Government delegation has for a long time restrained itself and hoped that the leader of NRM/NRA, Mr Yoweri Museveni, would at least be honest to the world and admit having worked with the same persons he wants to deny Uganda citizenship to."

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CSO: 3400/352

ZIMBABWE

NATION'S AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY ON BRINK OF ANARCHY

Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English 24 Oct 85 p 10

[Article by Michael Hartnack]

[Text] IN TWO months Zimbabwe's agricultural industry, hailed earlier this year by international experts as the best run in Africa, has come to the brink of anarchy.

This time the cause is not the obvious vagaries of the weather but economic factors which may, in the final analysis, be as much part of an erratic world-embracing cycle as the 1982-84 drought.

Superficially, the trouble stems from an edict by Zimbabwe's Ministry of Labour that "agro-industrial" workers must receive a pay increase of more than 120 percent to a minimum R220 a month, while "ordinary" farm labourers need get only an extra 15 percent to R130.

Pandemonium reigns on fruit, tea, timber, sugar, and coffee plantations as employers, including the government's own agricultural and rural development authority, seek urgent exemptions from the new minimum, pleading imminent bankruptcy.

There is also confusion over just who is eligible for the award, which officials say was intended for employees of big multi-national companies, not the small-estate owner.

Rioted

Predictably, workers have rioted on plantation after plantation (mostly in the eastern districts) as news reached them that managements were trying to backtrack on their joyfully awaited pay rise. And workers clearly in the "ordinary" farm-labour bracket cannot understand why they are not in line for the extra R90 also, and so seethe with resentment.

Top executives have been assaulted or held hostage, tea bushes burned, and one vacillating statement after another issued by those supposed to be in charge. While managers try to negotiate a return to normal working, no one in Harare will make any decisions before the Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, and his Labour Minister, Mr Freddie Shava, return from the Caribbean this weekend.

The fiery Zanu (PF) Manicaland provincial chairman, Mr Edgar Tekere, has proved an unexpected ally for employers during the crisis, ordering police to quell disturbances which he blames on official bungling.

However, responsible cabinet ministers failed to show up when he tried to convene a meeting in Mutare last week.

Collapse

If the situation is not resolved 20 000 workers may be laid off, Zimbabwean self-sufficiency in many staple commodities could disappear and profitable export trade collapse.

With yields up to 2 900 kg a hectare, Zimbabwe's tea industry, for example, appeared to be among the most efficient in the world. Some 12 000 tons of a forecast 16 000-ton crop was intended for export this year, perhaps earning R30 million foreign exchange if markets remain stable. Now there are fears it will price itself into ruin.

A visiting foreign human-rights worker last week made the valid point that while, in purely economic terms, Zimbabwe's tea-estate employees should be grateful for what their bosses can channel back to them from the international auction floors, in absolute terms R130 or even R220 a month is simply not enough for a decent life.

A 50-kg bag of maize meal sufficient for a small family's staple diet for a month costs about R20. The cheapest meat, vegetables and other food necessary for a balanced diet would push up family grocery bills by at least another R40 to R50, even allowing for some "home-grown" content.

While most schooling in Zimbabwe is technically free, parents have to pay fees of more than R100 a child each term for boarding, books, and "development fund".

Kitting out a child for school with initial basic clothing will cost more than R200 while the father of the family going into Mutare to buy himself a new suit will get little change out of R300.

### Aggrieved

It is little wonder, therefore, that the rural Zimbabwean is bitterly aggrieved at the size of his pay packet. His only compensation lies in looking across the international boundary into Mozambique and contemplating the far greater poverty of those with no regular income at all.

Visitors to the captured Gorongoza headquarters of the Renamo rebels report seeing tribesmen clad in bark or leaves. In areas still disrupted by fighting, Mozambicans probably face greater social and economic misery than at any time since the peak of Arab slave-raiding in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Inevitably, some have been crossing Zimbabwe's eastern border illegally to steal from R130-a-month farm

workers who themselves feel hard done by.

### Comparison

This inexorable "inward" pressure on Africa's dwindling centres of prosperity and foreign economic interest is exemplified by a cynical and offensive comparison overseas travellers make about the continent.

At each crossing of an international boundary, they say, from the Sahel countries into Zaire, from Zaire into Zambia, from Zambia into Zimbabwe, from Zimbabwe into South Africa, one feels one is suddenly entering a cleaner, greener, richer country. However, the final and sweetest relief of all comes as one steps off the airliner in Western Australia.

A current conference in Harare of the African, Caribbean and Pacific states highlighted the need to promote trade within the grouping, but has been unable to escape the harsh fact that most development and prosperity stems from "surpluses" generated within the developed world.

There are fickle surpluses of demand (over and above what the developed world can do, very efficiently, to supply its own needs) for primary commodities such as gold, tea, tobacco, copper. With changing trade patterns, this demand can dry up almost as suddenly as the demand for Oudtshoorn's ostrich feathers did in the 1890s.

### Breakthrough

Zimbabwe is now investing hundreds of millions of rands, depriving local customers, and decimating its national breeding herd, to fulfil a sudden breakthrough into the European beef market.

An extra R100 million a year foreign currency from this trade will be welcome as rain, while it lasts, but pessimists fear all Zimbabwe's investment and self-deprivation may be rewarded in a few years by the Europeans' saying, in effect: "Sorry, we don't want any more."

There are surpluses of cash and capital, when the developed world's own needs have been fully satisfied, for Africa's development projects or charitable relief. The least hint of recession and what once seemed an unlimited supply is turned off at the source.

### Capricious

Always behind the economic factors and closely linked with them are the developed world's "exportable surpluses" of moral concern which, as Irish bandleader Bob Geldof said on October 19, have now succumbed to "compassion fatigue" over the Ethiopian famine.

The total effect can be compared to the flow of a seasonal river through a desert, or a tide which rises and recedes, leaving little stagnant pools of development to survive as best they can until the next unpredictable "high water".

The flukes of the African climate may be, after all, the least capricious factor affecting her peoples' efforts to keep body and soul together.

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ZIMBABWE

COUNTRY HAS POTENTIAL TO PRODUCE FOOD FOR 30 MILLION

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Nov 85 p 15

[Text] HARARE.—Zimbabwe had enough water and could eventually grow enough food for 30 million people, but unless the birthrate started dropping immediately there would be too many people to feed.

The draft of the national conservation strategy says even this ability eventually to support 30 million depended on there being no further deterioration in production.

The draft was produced by a committee of senior civil servants and is the working document for this week's conference on implementing a national conservation strategy for Zimbabwe.

With a population now of more than 8.2 million and an annual growth rate of three percent, one of the highest in the world, Zimbabwe's population could treble in the next 30 years unless the birthrate is reduced.

This would severely strain the economy's ability to provide adequate social services and job opportunities, and would also be an intolerable strain on the nation's life-support systems.

The country's total water resources, when fully developed, could support 30 million people in a semi-industrialised society, although only 21 million with full industrial development, says the report.

It could take between 30 and 50 years for the population to reach 30 million, which was the critical carrying capacity of the country.

Because of demographic factors, the population would continue to expand even if there was a rapid decline in the birth rate. Half the population was under 16 years of age and these people would eventually have children — and grandchildren while they themselves were still alive. — Sapa.

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ZIMBABWE

WORKERS ON COMMERCIAL FARMS SUFFER FROM LOWEST STANDARD OF LIVING

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 1 Nov 85 p 6

[Text] EACH weekday morning, Gwinyai Chigumbo walks 10 miles to school, wading through a river on the way. He frequently falls asleep at his desk. Occasionally, he faints.

He is small for his nine years and the scratches on his knees that he picks up on his hike through the bush take months to heal. His eyes ooze chronic infection

and a hacking cough keeps him up at nights.

His daily trek takes him past fields of deep red soil supporting acres of ripening wheat, bright green lucerne pastures, fattening Friesland cows, banks of ripening tomatoes and sleek Hereford steers stuffing themselves at stalls.

Gwinyai is one of 1.5 million people living on Zimbabwe's commercial farms. They are estimated by researchers to be the poorest, most disease-prone and worst nourished in the country and are at the heart of a major industrial dispute now affecting Zimbabwe's plantation workers.

Since the government unilaterally announced a wage increase of 122 per cent for agro-industrial workers in August, strikes, demonstrations, lock-outs and violence have hammered the industry.

The owners of the country's tea, coffee, sugar, timber, fruit and poultry plantations say that the increase will wipe out any profitability in the industries.

A report in Harare's *Herald* newspaper said estates owned by multi-national companies could carry on for another two years before having to close down, while independently owned plantations might exist for "no more than a matter of months."

Workers classed as "agro-industrial-labour" often work alongside ordinary farm labour. "It is not surprising that some workers who handle only cattle or maize are demanding the higher wage as well, as are domestic workers on farms," the *Herald* says.

According to a survey carried out by a team of researchers at the medical school of the University of Zimbabwe in 1983 and subsequently up-

dated, about 40 per cent of commercial farm labourers' children under five years are classed as "under-nutrition," the condition creates "stunting" where children cannot develop normal physical proportions and remain short and weakened for the rest of their lives.

They are also subject to a wide variety of intestinal and respiratory diseases, and the study shows high incidences of diarrhoea — probably the biggest child killer in Africa — dysentery, tuberculosis, measles and trachoma.

The level of poverty and resultant disease tends to be twice as high in commercial farming areas as in the communal areas dominated by the peasant farming population, now rapidly turning from a subsistence existence to cash croppers.

The risk of mortality in the under-five age group has dropped in

commercial farming areas from 40 per cent before independence to about 20 per cent now.

"But it is still the level it stands at in communal areas," said one member of the investigating team.

Nineteen per cent of children born on commercial farms die within the first year of life, a figure again double the standards in communal lands.

Ante-natal trauma plagues the wives of commercial farming labourers, who have little or no recourse to medical advice. Neo-natal tetanus is also high, with practices like rubbing cow dung on the umbilicus as a primitive form of sterilisation frequently responsible.

"Poor quality housing, single water points for over 300 people and overcrowded communal sanitation were found, underlying reported communicable endemic disease," says a 1985 evaluation of family health care available in commercial farming areas.

Farm schools are another source of disease. Primary schools in commercial farming

areas had 4.5 times the number of pupils per class compared with schools in communal area, while commercial farm secondary schools had nine times the number.

The minimum wage for commercial farm workers is \$45. "I don't believe anyone can live on \$45 a month," said one of the research team. The poverty datum line is generally agreed to level out at about \$74.

The situation has worsened, largely because of minimum wages. With the progressive increase in wages, farmers have tended to lay off labour and spend money on productive items such as dams, boreholes and greater use of pesticides and machinery.

The commercial farm labour force has shrunk from 335 000 in 1979, the year before independence, to 263 000 now. The number of farms has hardly changed.

With further wage increases pending, the researchers predict that farmers will be reluctant to spend money on schools, health services and supplying fertiliser to labourers to develop

their own gardens, a crucial source of nutrition.

On some of the large estates, management has reportedly begun charging workers for these.

The farmers point out that they are the only ones in the country's business community who are expected to pay for social services for labour, while at the same time bearing the burden of radically increased farming inputs.

They also point out that while communal areas have received enormous assistance in recent years — in the way of boreholes, schools, clinics and food hand-outs in droughts — commercial farming areas have received virtually nothing.

"Everybody feels there is a great need for an improvement in these things," said David Hasluck, director of the farmers union. "It is unfair that the farmer should provide them when other employers go scot free."

Hasluck and the research team agree that a significant improvement has taken place since independence, but it is by no means universal. —

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ZIMBABWE

PARAMILITARY CAMPS TO TRAIN CIVIL DEFENCE VOLUNTEERS

Harare THE HERALD in English 1 Nov 85 p 5

[Text]

PLANS are under way to introduce civil defence training at paramilitary training camps throughout the country, the National Civil Defence Coordinator, Cde Herbert Mawema, has said.

Addressing members of the Midlands North civil defence committee and industrialists in Kwekwe last week, Cde Mawema said the army was working on a civil defence syllabus.

Members of the paramilitary force would be trained in rescue, casualty, welfare and warden duties so they could help when disasters occurred in their areas. Members of the force would help train members of the public.

Cde Mawema said the training would be extended to youths and women training centres in various parts of the country. The aim of civil defence directorate, he added, was to ensure that all people were made aware of precautions to take in the event of disasters in their areas.

As many volunteers as possible would be trained to help victims during disasters to ensure that speedy and efficient assistance was given to the victims.

He said the country had been divided into 28 civil defence areas and 22 civil defence committees had already submitted their defence plans to the directorate.

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ZIMBABWE

ZMDC INVESTMENT IN PLANT WILL BOOST GOLD RECOVERY

Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 18 Oct 85 p 1

[Text]

**THE Zimbabwe Mining Development Corporation (ZMDC), is to spend about \$4,8 million on a new plant for a gold mine near Kwekwe, and the construction of 290 houses for skilled and semi-skilled workers at the mine and at Sabi Mine in Zvishavane.**

A spokesman for the ZMDC told *The Gazette* this week that the new plant to be installed at Jena Gold Mines, about 96 km west of Kwekwe, will cost about \$3,6 million. The plant is expected to be operational at the end of next year, he said.

"At the present moment, there are three plants at Jena, but they are very old fashioned, dating back to the 1930s. Our recovery there has reached a maximum of only about 70%. This new plant is expected to improve that to about 92%," the

spokesman said.

He also said the ZMDC has embarked on a project at Pen East Mine, near Penhalonga, to treat waste dumps at the mine. "People used to mine at Pen East in the 1930s, throwing away a lot of residue containing valuable gold and silver.

"This plant, which will be operational at the end of this year, will treat the waste dumps. We believe they contain a lot of gold — an average of about 1,2g per tonne, and slightly more than that of silver.

"Though we are spending about \$300 000 on the project, we do not expect to get a lot of money back from these dumps. It's just an experimental project to get experience so that we can tackle bigger dumps throughout the country," he said.

The corporation intends to re-

habilitate another mine in Gadzema called Elvinton Mine. "Without going into details, since feasibility studies are still under way, we have already done some tests on how to treat the ore from that mine viably, and these have proved very positive," the ZMDC spokesman said.

About 250 houses are expected to be built at Jena Gold Mine over the next 2½ years at a cost of about \$1 million. The first 100 are expected to be completed at the end of this year at a cost of about \$400 000.

The remainder will be built in stages during the next two years. Another 40 houses are expected to be completed at Sabi Mine in Zvishavane this year at an estimated cost of about \$200 000. Already five have been completed, and another 10 are nearing completion.

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ZIMBABWE

EDUCATION MINISTER MEETS STUDENTS AT CZECH COLLEGE

Harare THE SUNDAY MAIL in English 27 Oct 85 p 3

[Text]

**ZIMBABWE'S** Education Minister, Dr Dzingai Mutumbuka, last week paid a visit to Czechoslovakia to confer with his counterpart, and to meet Zimbabwean students in that country.

Dr Mutumbuka travelled to Prague from Sofia, the Bulgarian capital where he is attending Unesco's 23rd general conference, scheduled to end on November 12. The conference is Unesco's highest decision-making body, and the minister is accompanied by the Secretary for Education, Dr Elijah Chanakira, and other Government officials.

The Sunday Mail understands that among the issues Dr Mutumbuka discussed with the Czech government officials were how that country introduced agriculture into its school systems. It has been easy for Czechoslovakia to set up agricultural and agro-based co-operatives as a result of the introduction of agriculture into the country's educational system.

There are now 13 Zimbabwean students in Czechoslovakia. Eight of them arrived in that country this year to take up studies in medicine, engineering, textile engineering and metallurgy. But since 1980 five Zim-

babweans have been pursuing courses with an agricultural bias.

The five Zimbabwean students at the Prague Agricultural College are Maxwell Nduku, Joseph Sikosana, Eshmuel Pompi, Felling Sibanda and Malvern Maposa.

Sikosana, who is the chairman of the Zimbabwe Students' Union in Czechoslovakia, said he had chosen agriculture for his studies because it was the backbone of every nation's economy.

"It is known that the agricultural standards in the developing countries are very low, a situation that has resulted in bad harvests in these countries.

"Young people have to be trained to overcome these problems before it is too late. Millions of people, especially children, are dying from starvation."

Sikosana, who has just completed his fifth year at the Institute of Tropical and Sub-Tropical Agriculture in Prague, said he has written a paper on the study of selected effects of reproduction in sheep.

"I had the opportunity to perform some experiments at a sheep farm at Tachov. In Zimbabwe, sheep are raised

on a small scale. I would like to make use of the experience gained here through these experiments to improve the conditions of sheep breeding in my country." Tachov is a town west of Prague, near the border with West Germany.

Sikosana added: "I carried out the experiments with the help of our lecturers and some experts from the research centre at Uhřineves, near Prague." The Institute of Tropical and Sub-Tropical Agriculture was established at the College of Agriculture in Prague in 1961.

There are more than 600 students from Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe who have been through the college so far. Under expert guidance the foreign students study not only specific problems concerning agriculture in the tropical and sub-tropical zones, but also modern agricultural methods used in that country.

Students at the college conclude their studies in one of the following subjects: crop production, livestock production, agricultural technology and the economy of management. They also conclude their studies by submitting a paper dealing with the agricultural needs of their own countries.

ZIMBABWE

BRIEFS

SPIES GET PROPERTY BACK--The Zimbabwe Government yesterday reversed an order seizing the property of two Intelligence officers detained since 1983 on allegations of spying for South Africa. A Government Gazette said the release of the property of Mr Colin Evans and Mr Philip Hartlebury has been made by Home Affairs Minister Mr Enos Nkala. They were acquitted of espionage in 1983, but have been kept in detention ever since. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 26 Oct 85 p 7] /13104

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